FORUM

Copyright 1947, by The Events Publishing Co., Inc.

Vol. CVIII OCTOBER, 1947 No. 4

The Shared Solitude of Robert Frost

By Robert Francis

WHITEHEAD has defined religion as what the individual does with his own solitariness. Poetry, too, is what an individual does with his solitariness, if he happens to be a poet or a devoted reader of poetry. But there is this difference: poetry unlike religion has to be expressed and articulate. A poet shapes and sharpens and projects his inner solitary experience partly to make that experience memorable to himself and partly to make it memorable to others. Thus poetry is a bridge between the solitary self and the social self. Better, it is an attempted reconciliation between the two, a sharing of solitude.

The most obvious thing about such a sharing is its limitation. Only a small fraction of an inner world can be communicated, and naturally not all that can be communicated is willingly confessed. How to say more (and less) than one seems to say, how to publish one's inmost thought and still keep one's spiritual privacy — this is one of poetry's perennial problems and fascinations. In recent years poetry has been growing more and more confessional, and at the same time more and more obscure, so that many a modern poet manages to confess far more than he communicates.

Robert Frost belongs to an older tradition in which the poet does not confess everything but communicates, or does his best to communicate, all that he sees fit to confess. Such a poet takes no needless chances with being understood. He indulges in no wilful obscurities. If the reader has to work to get the full meaning, it is not because of private symbols or esoteric allusions but rather because of compression or ellipsis inherent in the poem. But "confessional" is not the word to use of Frost's poetry. His poems are less a total unburdening of the mind before an unseen confessor than a selective sharing of mind with a friend. There is confiding here, but there is also reticence. The solitary and the social are reconciled, up to a point. Beyond that point the irreconcilability of the two is a fact to be accepted.

Read the eight volumes from *A Boy's Will* through the recent *Steeple Bush* and you find a man

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

strongly moved by both the aloneness and the togetherness of people, including himself. His own lively need of people is equalled by his craving to get away from them. The poems are evidence. It is not enough for him to communicate something out of his solitariness; he must communicate the fact of solitariness itself. Again and again he states the two impulses and plays one against the other or combines them with infinite variety like a composer developing the two themes of sonata form.

At the center of every solitude is the essential aloneness of a human being. Around this center gather the more particular solitudes of old age, of illness, of queerness and insanity, of a secret long kept, of grief, of death. There is the solitude of isolated farm life and of lonely tasks: the single-handed mower, the gum-gatherer in spruce forests, the census-taker coming on an abandoned shack. There is the lonely play of a child too far from town or neighbors to have anything but what he makes for himself. Involuntary solitudes these. And there is a solitude sought after. Twenty-five or so of the Frost poems tell of lonely walks by day or night, all times of year, all kinds of weather, partly in search of stars or of a certain wild orchid or of an elusive bird, but mostly for the sake of the solitude, as if the walker could best come to terms with his inescapable solitariness by blending it with a voluntary one. There are the picture solitudes framed by windows, whether train windows or house windows. There is that happily paradoxical solitude of two lovers, and sometimes a darker solitude within the happy one.

Something of a paradox, too, it is that poems so haunted by loneliness should be so full of people. Frost's second volume, *North of Boston,* he accurately called a book of people. They are unmistakable people, as everyone knows. Some of them are lonely people and that may be one reason why Frost cares enough about them to enter so imaginatively into their lives. Though they are lonely, they are seldom presented alone. Frost is a master of the unexpected encounter. He loves to picture an isolated or ingrown personality in contact with a free and friendly one: the overworked and neurotic farm wife unburdening herself to a summer visitor who proves a good listener; the old hired man, doubly alone in his homelessness and in his self-ignorance, sheltered by the farm couple who understand him; the distinguished man from the city, unable to break through the barriers of his social position and his fastidiousness when faced with a coarse, friendly, convivial, common man.

What everyone does not know so well, however, is that people are present in the poems not ostensibly about people, the so-called "nature poems." They are sometimes just out of sight, just around the corner. At least the poet himself is always present as more than observer and reporter. That little poem about the crow shaking down dust of snow from a hemlock tree is as much about the change of mood in the poet as it is about the crow. Though

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Frost's birds and animals often keep a solitude of their own (witness the "only" cow, the single sunset bird, the little colt left out alone in his first snowstorm), they are presented so much in terms of human motive and emotion that they give a social atmosphere to the poems. Frost's wariness of the pathetic fallacy and of all conventional make-believe cannot hide his love of personification, which with him has a shrewd way of half-denying itself. Cannily he tells us not what a certain bird thinks, but what it doubtless doesn't think. In spite of itself the bird has become companionable.

Perhaps we should not be surprised that a brooding sense of solitude should accompany an absorbing devotion to people. The lonely walk takes a man away from his beloved in order to bring him back to her. He brings her a flower he has picked for her on the way.

Here is a hint of how the opposing moods are sometimes reconciled, aside from the reconciliation inherent in the very communication of the poems. One of the clearest examples of shared solitude is in the early poem, "A Tuft of Flowers," which tells how the farmer-poet working alone at turning hay hours after the mower had come and gone, discovers, in a tuft of butterfly weed spared by the mower for its beauty, so much meaning that thereafter he feels he does not work alone. Contrast that poem with "Mending Wall" in which two men work together not only at the same place but at the same time, yet keep the wall between them as they go. The little poem, "The Pasture," set off at the beginning of the *Collected Poems* (1939) may be taken as the simplest sort of sharing. With its refrain "You come too," it is a friendly invitation to us to go along with the farmer on two of his usually lonely farm chores. As we stand by the pasture spring that he has come to clean, waiting to watch the water clear, we stand together, but that is not to say that each of us may not keep his own thoughts. I find a contrast between this poem and the one that follows, "Into My Own," the first poem in the first book. Here the poet says he would like sometime to escape for good into the dark gloom of the forest. But he sees no reason why his dear ones should not search for him, and having found him, find him unchanged from him they knew.

"Directive," perhaps the most impressive poem in *Steeple Bush*, purports to give directions for finding a certain deserted house near which flows a brook of pure cold water. The poet has been alone to this most solitary yet strangely companionable place. As he drank from the brook, he seemed to drink of the clarity and simplicity of the life once lived there. He not only tells us how to get there; he prescribes that we go.

> Here are your waters and your watering place.
> Drink and be whole again beyond confusion

Any careful reader of Frost must have been struck by the frequent image of dark trees, though J. McBride Dabbs in *The Yale Review* for March, 1934, was the first, so far as I know, to call attention to it. How many of Frost's most mem-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

orable lyrics are shadowed by these trees: "In Hardwood Groves," "Reluctance," "The Road Not Taken," "The Oft Repeated Dream," "The Sound of Trees," "Stopping by Woods on a Snowy Evening," "Spring Pools," "Tree at My Window," "Desert Places," "Leaves Compared with Flowers," "Come In," and "Were I in Trouble." Mr. Dabbs thinks that "the wood, for Frost, symbolizes nature itself with its challenge and its fascination." I should say that many things other than a wood might equally well symbolize nature, but that a deep forest in which one can wander alone and lose one's way (though not oneself) is a peculiarly apt symbol of solitariness. All the poems mentioned above, and many others with the same image, are lonely poems. "Good gloom on her was thrown away," says Frost of the woman who had to keep a light burning by her bedside; and he adds, "It is on me by night or day." If a contradiction be not too presumptious, I should say that far from being thrown away on him, the good gloom of his dark trees is to be thanked for many of his most unforgettable effects.

Is this good gloom distributed equally throughout the eight volumes? That is not an irrelevant question to ask of a poet whose career, as is well known, passed almost overnight from relative obscurity to wide recognition and presently to such acclaim as no other American poet has enjoyed in his own lifetime. To put the question specifically and bluntly, has this acclaim with all its demands on the poet's time in the way of lectures, readings, conversation, city dwelling and travel, affected the solitariness of the later poems?

In *New Hampshire,* the fourth book and the first to be composed of poems written predominantly since the beginning of the period of full recognition, I find a robustness, confidence, and gusto not found earlier, but the general balance of social and solitary seems to me unchanged. It is in the sixth book, *A Further Range,* that there begins to be prominent a type of poem seeming to have come out of conversation or controversy and having no content of solitariness. Sometimes it is a long conversational poem such as "Build Soil, a Political Pastoral," or "The Literate Farmer and the Planet Venus, a Dated Popular-Science Medley on a Mysterious Light Recently Observed in the Western Sky at Evening," or the separately published "A Masque of Reason." Again it is a shorter poem, tightly and brilliantly rhymed, witty, perhaps flippant on the surface but strongly ironic beneath. Some of these poems are only two or four lines long. Practically all of them are satiric comment on current science, economics, or politics. They strike the reader as hard crystallizations of conversation, polished retorts the poet made or didn't make in discussion with professors in departments other than the humanities. "Editorials" Frost himself has called some of them. Do they displace the earlier Frost in the later poems?

In a recent poem Frost tells of being spied on by some boys from

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

school once when he was down on his knees studying plants and humming to himself.

I stopped my song and almost my heart
For any eye is an evil eye
That looks in on to a mood apart.

Have the boys from school, the scientists, the economists, and the political economists stopped or interrupted Frost's song?

The answer is a clear no. The boys from school may be partly responsible for those rhymed editorials without which the world would be poorer and a shade more solemn. But they have had no effect on the song, which persists as undaunted as the song of Frost's ovenbird, "a mid-summer and a mid-wood bird." No earlier poems are more intense and inward than are some of the lyrics in the three latest books: "Neither Out Far Nor In Deep," "Happiness Makes Up in Height for What It Lacks in Length," "I Could Give All to Time," "The Rabbit Hunter," "The Night Light," and "The Ingenuities of Debt," not to repeat any of those already mentioned.

From this whole discussion does any reader suppose that there are two Frosts, an Allegro Frost and a Penseroso Frost? Nothing could be farther from the truth. The solitary and the social impulses are interdependent and inseparable, and Frost's honest acknowledgement of this fact is both an expression and a proof of integration.

The gulf that separates the mind of man from the mind of a startled moth seen in winter, the gulf that separates a living man from the few bones that were once a pre-glacial man, the gulf that separates the human mind from that X-like Beyond, that residual Something called God—these gulfs loom all the wider and deeper the more passionate the desire to cross them.

The Dusseldorf *Freiheit* reports the story of a Ruhr pastor who met a woman carrying a 60-pound sack of potatoes on her back. The woman told him that she needed the potatoes for her five children and that she had had to give her gold wedding ring for them.

The preacher demanded the name of the farmer. On the following Sunday, he mentioned the incident in his sermon, expressing great surprise that a farmer of his parish would demand such a price. He warned that if the ring were not returned in the next week, he would announce the name of the guilty farmer. (He netted eight wedding rings from his congregation.)

* * *

During the 1944 campaign, Governor Dewey was scheduled to make a radio speech in a small midwestern city. The network with which the local station was affiliated sent the following telegram to the station owner:

"Governor Dewey arrives Monday at 9:22 P.M. Please have on hand, at railroad station your general manager, program director, news director, special events director, chief announcer and chief engineer."

The station owner wired back: "Don't worry, I'll be there."

—*Capper's Weekly*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

We have repudiated
the right of revolution

The Lost American Freedom

By Arthur K. Smart

THE history of the United States is to a large extent composed of the growth of personal liberty. Since the adoption of our federal Constitution in 1787, and more particularly since the proposal of the first ten amendments in 1789, we have moved steadily toward the extension of civil liberties to new fields and, at the same time, we have constantly given to existing points of freedom added protection under the law. In the whole movement toward ever increasing human liberty there has been but one significant exception. One item of civil liberty which was of great importance to founders of the Nation has now been clearly repudiated—the right of revolution.

So gradual has been the transition from the day when the right to overthrow government by force was regarded as one of the major items of personal freedom to the present denial of this authority that we have not readily recognized its existence. The death blow was dealt this doctrine by the recent naturalization laws which make ineligible for American citizenship any person who is a member of a party which "advocates the forceful overthrow of Government."

The entire issue has been brought to light by the denial of citizenship to J. H. Krebs, better known as Jan Valtin, author of the pre-war best-seller *Out of the Night*. Krebs, who was at one time a member of the Communist Party, but who has not been connected with that organization for more than 10 years, saw action during the War in a number of campaigns in the South Pacific as a member of an American infantry division. Nevertheless, he has been held by the courts to be ineligible to become a citizen because of his former connection with a party which advocates the overthrow of government by force.

It seems unfortunate that opponents of the Communist Party should so often seize upon this point as the ground on which to deny party members civil and political rights. Communists might with some logic be opposed for refusing to recognize the rights of property. They might be circumscribed for maintaining entangling relations with foreign powers. Better yet, we might conceivably go as far as to deny citizenship to those who refuse to guarantee to others a continuation of freedom of speech, the press and religion. To base our legal and technical opposition to Communists, however, on the fact that under certain circumstances they advocate the overthrow of government by force, is to turn our

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

backs on a doctrine which Americans have recognized as of the greatest importance since the very establishment of the Republic.

Since the present struggle with Communism promises to challenge renewed thought on several fundamental relations between the government and the individual, it will be worth while to consider the right of revolution as it has been recognized in American history. We may do well to note the effects which this doctrine has exerted upon our institutions and to consider the position into which we shall be forced through its repudiation.

HISTORY

The origin of the right of revolution in America is to be found in the struggle of the colonies for their independence from the Mother Country. Never has it been expressed with greater sanity or with greater eloquence than in Jefferson's wording of *The Declaration of Independence:*

> whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, (Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness), it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

James Madison, the man who is now recognized as "The Father of the Constitution," recommended the following procedure as to the Bill of Rights: "That there be prefixed to the Constitution a declaration that all power is originally vested in, and consequently derived from, the people. That government is instituted and ought to be exercised for the benefit of the people; which consists in the enjoyment of life, liberty, with the right of acquiring and using property, and generally of pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety. That the people have an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform or change their Government, whenever it may be found adverse or inadequate to the purposes of its institution."

The committee to which this preamble was referred by Congress curtailed its wording so as to limit it to a statement that government is derived from the people. Finally, even this was stricken out by action of the House of Representatives.

When the same set of amendments went to the Senate for consideration, there were three attempts to restore provisions similar to Madison's preamble. The most vigorous of these declares that government

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ought to be instituted for the common benefit and protection of the people and that "the doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind."

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Few of the States seem to have gone so far as to incorporate into their constitutions any specific guarantee of the right of revolution, although its validity was nowhere questioned. The one important exception was the State of New Hampshire. Here, in a constitution which even antedates the basic law of the nation, this principle was firmly established. Even to this day, the officials who swear to uphold that constitution give their approval to the right of revolution. This constitutional provision, which is perhaps unique among the similar documents of the world, closely resembles the wording which was suggested in the Senate for inclusion in the federal Constitution. It says:

> Article 10th. Government being instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security, of the whole community, and not for the private interest or emolument of any one man, family, or class of men; therefore, whenever the ends of government are perverted, and public liberty manifestly endangered, and all other means of redress are ineffectual, the people may, and of right ought, to reform the old, or establish a new government. The doctrine of nonresistance against arbitrary power, and oppression is absurd, slavish, and destructive of the good and happiness of mankind.

The attachment to this doctrine did not die with the generation which established the nation. Certainly we never had a more conservative statesman than Daniel Webster, and yet, in advocating the moral approval of the Greek Revolution of the 1820's, he forcefully expressed his own basic belief in the right of revolution. He took vigorous issue with the opposing position which had been assumed by the Holy Alliance for the suppression of the overthrow of governments by force anywhere.

"No matter what the character of the government resisted," he said, "no matter with what weight the foot of the oppressor bears on the neck of the oppressed; if he struggle or if he complain, he sets a dangerous example of resistance, — and from that moment he becomes an object of hostility to the most powerful potentates of the earth. I want words to express my abhorrence of this abominable principle."

SLAVERY ISSUE

Although the right of revolution remained virtually unchallenged American doctrine for the first half century of the Republic, the impact of practical events was destined to call into question its validity. First serious curtailment of this right came as a result of the anti-slavery agitation of the 1830's. The dangers of servile insurrection in the South resulted in demands for the suppression of any action which might cause the slaves to revolt against their masters. Nat Turner's rebellion in Virginia and

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

similar smaller uprisings in other localities caused a considerable modification of several of the traditional doctrines of civil liberties. An amendment was sought to the federal Constitution which would have provided punishment for anyone inciting the slaves to rebel. Although this measure was not adopted, most of the Southern States did enact laws of this type.

In one sense the blow which this legislation struck at the traditional American right of revolution was insignificant, since the slaves were not protected by any civil liberties anyway. In another respect, however, the blow was a serious one, since it was just such people as these —those who could not redress their wrongs through the ordinary methods of legal action—that the right of revolution is designed to help.

At about the time of the Civil War, of course, the entire question of the right of revolution became hopelessly entangled with the problem of secession, and it suffered accordingly. Before the conflict, amendments had been sought to the Constitution defining and preserving to the States the right to withdraw from the Union under certain circumstances. After the war, when the force of arms had prevented the dismemberment of the Union, the doctrine of revolution fell into great disrepute. The victorious party was able, for a time, at least, to clamp all sorts of penalties and disabilities on those who had aided the Confederate cause.

Since the establishment of Communism in Russia during World War I, the tide against the right of revolution has been pronounced. Americans, fearful of the spread of Communism to this nation, have attempted to find some excuse by which the proponents of Marxism could be outlawed in the United States. All sorts of valid reasons for taking such action might have been presented. Unfortunately, however, the leaders of the anti-Communist movement have concentrated largely upon the fact that Communism recognizes, and in some instances encourages, the forceful overthrow of existing governments. The legislatures of several States have been asked to deny places on the electoral ballot to parties which advocate the overthrow of government by force. The federal immigration laws have been altered to make the advocacy of this doctrine grounds for refusing citizenship to aliens. Currently attempts are being made to include the advocacy of the right of revolution as a reason for discharging federal employes. Thus, within recent years, we have completely repudiated the doctrine which Jefferson and Madison believed to be so important in our structure of government.

By its very nature, the acceptance of the doctrine of the right of revolution by an established government is one of the strangest incongruities that can be imagined. On the surface it might seem to represent little more than an academic proposition. Certainly, one could never defend his action in a court of law by referring to his constitutional right of revolution. The very fact that the case could be taken to court would be justification for regarding revo-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lutionary tactics as unnecessary and unwarranted.

Nevertheless, this doctrine is not entirely a theoretical question. Rather, it is the expression of a great moral force in society. The fact that it can not readily be translated into tangible action does not mean that it does not exist or that it does not make itself felt.

On the other hand, one might suppose that if the right of revolution were made part of the basis of government it would create a tendency for citizens to resort to violent action on the slightest provocation. In practice, however, this assumption also proves to be quite unfounded. It is as false as the idea that a constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and of the press must lead to unbridled licentiousness. The one state which gives constitutional recognition to the right of revolution is certainly among the most conservative and the most stable in the nation—the State of New Hampshire.

Actually there are several important practical achievements that result from the recognition of the right of revolution. Perhaps the most important is the fact that the recognition of this right forces the government itself to keep perpetually available peaceful methods for the redress of wrongs so as to make the need for revolution remote. Thus, in 1935, the New Hampshire legislature had before it a bill to deny a place on the ballot to any political party which advocated the overthrow of government by force. The measure was defeated on the ground that it was in direct conflict with the constitutional provision guaranteeing the right of revolution.

Most New Hampshire people were well pleased when the measure was killed. They felt that as long as revolutionary parties have a chance to express their ideas in an orderly way, they will have little excuse for putting into practice any of their violent notions. At the same time, it was obvious that, despite this attitude on the part of the New Hampshire people generally, the bill, which had the backing of the powerful lobby of the American Legion, would probably have been adopted had it not been for its obvious unconstitutionality. Unfortunately, six years later, the same pressure group found a method of circumventing the constitution and adopted a still more pernicious law. This statute forbids a place on the ballot to any party which cannot secure the signatures of a prohibitive number of petitioners. Thus it virtually outlaws not only the Communists but every other third party which may arise in the state. A worse measure could hardly be imagined.

BENEFITS

The benefits of recognition of the right of revolution, to the extent that methods are not found for circumventing these provisions, may be said to be: (1) it compels democracy to keep open the channels for the orderly determination of public problems so that nobody may be forced to resort to violent methods; (2) it forces the determination of each issue upon its own merits and in a rational manner, rather than

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

by threats of violence and equally irrational steps for the suppression of violence; (3) it serves as a moral check against tyranny by guaranteeing to each citizen the right to use even the most extreme means of overturning despotism should it ever become established. In short, the official recognition of the right of revolution serves as a very decided safety valve in the democratic process. Those who have been familiar with its operation see in it not a threat to the existence of the State, but a better protection for reasonable and orderly government than can be found in its denial.

If this nation has finally made up its mind to repudiate the right of revolution, what type of philosophy can we consistently adopt in its place? Are we to contend that since revolution and the overthrow of government by force is wrong, the founders of the Republic were sinful in throwing off the yoke of England? Are we to declare that the support which we gave during the recent war to resistance groups in various nations for the opposition to Fascism was wrong? Are we to take the position assumed by the Holy Alliance more than a century ago and look with horror whenever the "firebrand of rebellion" is thrown into any government, no matter how oppressive? There are few who would be willing to subscribe to such extreme doctrines. On the other hand, these must be the logical consequences of any attempt to follow a consistent policy which denies the right of revolution.

The raising of this issue must inevitably bring us face to face with certain harsh realities. It sounds tremendously patriotic for politicians to express their opposition to the overthrow of government by force. If this new doctrine is accepted fully enough and blindly enough, and there seems to be no reason for assuming that it will not be so accepted, then we are already well along the road to some form of tyranny.

It is only as we may be able to reaffirm our lost liberty—the right of revolution—that we can have hope of successfully maintaining a course between the dangers of oppression on the one hand and the evils of revolution itself on the other. For, paradoxically enough, the guaranteeing of the right to overthrow the government by force is the only practical assurance we can have that such a fate will never overtake our own nation.

Duke of Windsor: "The thing that impresses me most about America is the way the parents obey their children."

—Quote

* * *

While Rossini was visiting in France, he learned that a group of wealthy admirers planned to have a statue erected in his honor.

"How much will it cost?" the composer inquired.

"Ten million francs," he was told.

The poverty-stricken composer exclaimed: "How extravagant! For five million I'll stand on the pedestal myself."

—Memphis Commercial Appeal

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Chicago Areas Project fights delinquency at the source

Let the Neighbors Help

By Regina Z. Kelly

NICK was the son of a Chicago bootlegger during the prohibition era. When Nick was baptized, his father's gangster friends covered the baby's long, lace-trimmed christening dress with $50 bills. At 10, Nick was robbing neighborhood stores and trucks. At 11, he became "blind drunk" one night and "took on" his first girl. Two years later he was part owner of a "hot" car and got wounded in a gun battle with the police.

After that Nick went back to the neighborhood things he could handle —organizing the corner crap games with the "coppers taking a cut on the take"; or starting a protective racket in school (when he was in school) that kept the small fry from being beaten up by the gang. Finally the principal "t'rew" him out and gave him a diploma.

Then came the war-time draft and Nick was listed as a 4-F. Maybe that took the ego out of him, or maybe his old gang had broken up, for Uncle Sam was "putting the finger" on the boys. Today Nick is a paid staff member of a juvenile welfare organization, and you'd better not smile, Mister, when you ask him how he likes his work.

But Nick's organization is not a typical social agency. It is part of the Chicago Areas Project, a program for combating juvenile delinquency which was started in Chicago in 1934 by Clifford R. Shaw, a gray-haired, tolerant, practical sociologist who had done research on juvenile delinquency since he was a member of the Wickersham Crime Commission in 1929. Today in addition to being Director of the Area Project he is head of the Illinois Institute for Juvenile Delinquency with its headquarters in Chicago.

In spite of the fact that much money and time had been spent on fighting child crime, it was Mr. Shaw's private conviction that little had been accomplished. He believed it was because the approach to the problem had been wrong. There had been too much front-office handling. In his opinion, delinquency is a result of the experiences to which young people are exposed, and improvement, therefore can be achieved only through changes in their community, which can best be brought about if the local residents *themselves* accept the fullest responsibility. This is the basic idea in the Chicago Areas Project.

Six low-income sections which were in the blighted areas of Chicago were selected for the experiment. In these communities the delinquency rate had been high for

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

40 years, in spite of variations in nationality and racial groups. There was only one thing the residents had had in common, and that was low economic security.

The Chicago Areas Project is a loose and flexible organization. As a rule, a member of the central staff gets acquainted with the children and adults in a locality, and with his spurring they eventually form a Community Committee. The director secures initial financial support from the Project, assists the Committee to contact established social agencies, and provides a consultant. From then on the local Committee takes the ball. The workers are chosen because they know the district. At first they are volunteers. In time some may become paid members of the staff, of which there are a bare minimum. Many are without academic background. (Nick scarcely knew how to read and write.) Some have been delinquents themselves.

Steve Bobacz, for instance. Once he was the leader of the Brandon Speed Boys, one of the toughest gangs in the city. Now he is the Director of the Russell Square Committee in his old neighborhood. He is a big genial fellow in his early thirties, thoroughly "alley-wise" and deeply interested in his work. Russell Square was the first Area organized. It is in a Polish section of the city, with most of the adults earning good wages in the steel mills and living in fairly comfortable homes. But the children were "alley rats" and brought up in a tradition of crime. Steve tells with a grin about his own gang. "The day after we gave a dance, the firemen had to drill holes in the floor of the dance hall to drain off the blood from the broken heads."

Organized gang fights with the Mexicans in the nearby district; purse snatching; jumping trucks laden with crates of fruit until the produce men had to change their route into the city; stealing copper gutters from the school buildings, were the minor amusements of the boys. There was a boy scout unit, but only "sissies" belonged. Then came James MacDonald from the Areas Project. He won over the kids, got the backing of Father Lange, pastor of St. Michael's church, and started the first boys' club in the church basement. From then on the program grew cautiously.

Mr. Shaw has been roundly criticized for his choice of personnel. Said one skeptic, "He makes ward politicians, gamblers, and tavern keepers serve his purpose along with priests, industrialists, and capitalists. That is why Christian people have difficulty in understanding him." Another prominent blue-nose objected because "if the people were given control, they would want to serve wine at social affairs and that would be contrary to my ethical code." Needless to say, Mr. Shaw was more concerned with the "codes" of the people he was trying to help, and with apparent enjoyment he drank some of the home-made wine which was served by the Italians when they were building a boys' summer camp.

In the case of Nick, for instance, Mr. Shaw believes that a fellow of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

his type is an important force to be reckoned with in a neighborhood, and it is better having him inside of one's activities than on the outside causing trouble.

Sometimes Mr. Shaw is accused of not cooperating with other social agencies. This is not so. The Area works with all the available resources of a neighborhood. But these agencies frequently are opposed to citizen groups assuming responsibility, and on this point the Director will not yield. He thinks that most ready-made programs put residents in an inferior position. The officials usually work only with the "good" people of the community, and miss out on their greatest asset—the talent, energies and resources of the people most concerned.

The people in a district know their political and business leaders. They can use neighborhood pressure against local junk dealers and tavern owners who traffic with minors. They can secure the help of the churches and other local institutions far more effectively than can the welfare agencies. They are able to incorporate delinquents and parolees into their own neighborhood groups. When a summer camp is to be built, it isn't necessary for them to hire labor or buy much in the way of building supplies. The carpenters, plumbers, and bricklayers of the community can do the job, and the whole neighborhood makes a picnic of the occasion, with the politicians and business men furnishing the wherewithal.

Otherwise the activities of the Area Projects are typical of similar groups. Empty lots are used for outdoor games; summer camping programs and day-time trips to the forest preserves are provided. There are neighborhood improvement clubs; organized effort to secure better housing, sanitation, and medical care. There are job training and placement committees, and groups who work with the schools and juvenile courts. The only difference is that the people of the community create and do these jobs for themselves.

PAROLEES

One of the most important features of the Area program is the rehabilitation of parolees. Unless a criminal is incorporated into an accepted group, he will seek the companionship of other criminals and then resume his former activities. The Russell Square Committee has had particular success in this work. Out of 41 parolees with whom they worked, only one was re-committed and that was for a technical violation of his parole. The method employed is quite simple. Usually an individual in the organization whom the parolee knows and trusts sees that he is assimilated into the neighborhood on a friendly basis, and helps him to get employment. In time the parolee achieves a position of responsibility in the community.

> As one parolee stated, "I was paroled from Pontiac after doing three years. All I had to do then was to be checked in by my sponsor once a month. Nobody bothered me. I was supposed to have a job, but as soon as I said I was an ex-con,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the job went boom. After 10 months I was burglarizing again and I got caught. I got the rap then for everything that had been stolen in the neighborhood. My sister began working for my parole and finally she got someone in the Russell Square Committee to help. I was paroled to the Committee and they got me a job with a local company. It sure gives a man a new lease on life to know that somebody is interested in him. When I got out, everybody treated me like an old friend. If I had any problems, some of the Committee would give me a hand. When I needed money I could borrow, and I wasn't ashamed to ask. I made up my mind then to go straight. Since I've been paroled, I spend a lot of my time in the Club. I go around with a neighborhood man employed by the Project. I help him in taking care of the records and issuing equipment. I got to know a lot of people in the neighborhood that way. It sure gives a fellow a feeling that he is doing something worthwhile.

The South Side Committee which works in a section of Chicago largely peopled by Negroes, is particularly proud of the interest of its adult population in the Project, and the indirect effect it has had on neighborhood improvement. Everyone knows of the Negro congestion in Chicago, the resulting evils in housing, crime and general unrest. The South Side Committee boasts of 4000 volunteers participating in some form of neighborhood action; of $60,000 collected in five years; and of nine neighborhood centers.

When an open-gang warfare which caused the death of five boys started in the Negro district and the police did little to end it, the Committee started a house-to-house canvass. Thousands of pamphlets were distributed; neighborhood meetings were called; sound trucks went through the streets announcing meetings, blaring slogans, or calling attention to dangerous situations. There were threats and intimidations when the Committee members gave evidence at the Coroner's inquest, but they persisted. One tavern was closed and others promised not to sell liquor to minors. More police protection was given. A theatre where a girl had been raped was forced to employ more attendants. And hundreds of other Negroes asked that centers be established in their blocks.

Civic-minded Negro women from all over Chicago are interested in the work of the South Side Committee and have formed a Women's City-Wide Committee. Its annual tea to which thousands of people come is the main source of income for the Project. When this group was first formed, the members elected a woman from the neighborhood as president, because she knew the area and seemed so concerned about the problem. Later they discovered she had a decidedly questionable reputation, and some of the other women wanted the staff to ask her to resign. But the staff wisely insisted on a "hands-off" policy. By the end of the year, the president had done such an excellent job and had so changed her own mode of life, that she was re-elected to office.

The problem of dealing with un-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

married mothers is a particular project of the South Side Committee. A class in home economics has been started for these girls at one of the neighborhood public schools. One of the Committee clubs for young women wanted to help these girls in some concrete way. So the principal of the school gave a luncheon to which the girls and the club members were invited. At the plate of each of the latter was a letter from one of the girls stating her particular difficulties and what she needed for her baby-to-come. In this way each club member became a sponsor for one of the girls. Now the whole Committee is raising funds for a building to be called "Halfway House" where girls who live in homes contributing to delinquency can be given refuge and help.

It is difficult to estimate the results of the Area Projects. While delinquency has declined notably in most of the Areas, Mr. Shaw modestly states that there are other contributing factors. But in the Russell Square Area the decline was 74 per cent in seven years, while the rate throughout the city was 23 per cent, and in the West Side Area in that same time it was 44 per cent.

Don't think this happened overnight. The boys were suspicious at first. "What do youse guys want?" was the usual query to the first men sent by the Project. Or being accustomed to welfare workers with their inducements of movie treats and baseball outfits, the boys would gleefully pass the information around that there was another "sucker" in the neighborhood. Gradually when they found out that the new man didn't squeal to the cops, or tell the truant officers, and asked for the return of stolen goods on a "no questions asked" basis, they began to come around. Especially when they learned that the new guy wanted them to run their own clubs.

But that was just the beginning. When the summer camps first started and the boys went on canoeing trips, they used to duck off into the woods for crap games. It was a couple of years before they were spending the winter evenings in their club rooms proudly boasting of their exploits. One group of boys loudly kidded about the Indian paraphernalia with which they decorated their club room, but when a contingent of adults asked to pay a visit, the boys carefully counted the trophies before giving permission.

However, there are other results beside the decline in juvenile delinquency. Leadership ability has been unearthed. The residents of these low-income sections who usually are thought to be shiftless and untrustworthy, have shown that they not only know how to raise money but they also know how to spend it wisely. None of the Committees is in the "red" and all are self-supporting. Only the Mexican Center received a $10,000 contribution from the Rockefeller Foundation.

Any taxpayer, in the opinion of the leaders, should be interested in the Project. It costs about $500 a year to keep an adolescent in a state institution in addition to the moral wreckage of the child's personality. But it costs only $50 a year to have

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a child take his place in a wholesome community environment.

Remember a C.B.S. documented broadcast called "The Eagle's Brood"? It was based on the nation-wide study of juvenile delinquency made by Robert L. Shayon. There were grim pictures in that broadcast—the Negroes wanting to "rumble" for their "rep"; the four youths in the death cell block; the warden interested only in a "modern" execution chamber; the "Kangaroo" court in the juvenile home; the boy in state prison dying from a beating by a guard—

Mr. Shayon blamed these conditions on "high-tension" neighborhoods, over-crowded schools, outdated juvenile courts, venal politicians, indifferent citizens, as well as ignorant, careless, incapable parents. J. Edgar Hoover in a recent article on delinquency thought the problem was directly related to the conduct of the parents; their negligence, their irresponsibility, their unwillingness to discipline.

The parents probably are the cause as these men state, but parents also can be the cure, if they will let the neighbors help.

The South: a place where a stranger who has money is suspected of being a Republican.

—Banking

* * *

Another form of wastefulness is expenditure of words beyond the income of ideas.

—Pathfinder

* * *

A Vermont housewife saved the burned sticks of 360 matches and mailed them back to the match company: "You've just got to put new tips on these for me."

—Opportunity

* * *

During a recent visit to New York, Sir Edward Lutyens, the great British architect, inspected the Wrigley chewing gum sign on Broadway. "It's the largest sign in the world," a Wrigley executive told him."

Sir Edward nodded.

"It has the largest automatic switchboard in the world, too," he added.

"No doubt," Sir Edward replied.

The Wrigley executive felt that Sir Edward wasn't getting the point, so he edged closer to the rail, turned on the pressure, regaling Sir Edward with all sorts of detailed statistics about the sign's weight, candle power, etc.

"To be sure," Sir Edward said, "it's very nice. But don't you think it's a bit obtrusive?"

—Tide

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Farm cooperatives on the witness stand

The Target of the N.T.E.A.

By Virgil E. Tipton

FARM cooperatives, the subject of much heated debate the past few months, are headed for another showdown fight this fall.

This time their real enemy, the National Tax Equality Association, will withdraw its guns while a subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee carries on. Representative Walter C. Ploeser (R.) of St. Louis, Missouri, Chairman of the Committee, recently announced that the group organized by him will begin a "searching examination" of activities of the Tennessee Valley Authority and other government agencies in "competition with business." Also, "monopolistic features of certain giant cooperatives" are to be studied, as well as the "tax exemption privileges of cooperatives . . ." Ploeser promises that the probe will "open the eyes of the American people to socialistic trends in America."

Earlier this year the N.T.E.A. Chairman, Ben C. McCabe, made speeches and distributed literature denouncing farm cooperatives' so-called "failure to pay taxes." On a national broadcast of the American Forum of the Air, he also attacked co-ops on the question, "Should All Co-ops Pay Federal Income Taxes?"

What is behind all the commotion over farm co-ops? Are co-ops completely escaping taxes as charged by some groups? And is business overburdened with taxes as a result of this "shift of tax obligation"? Will co-ops bring about a socialist or a communist state in the United States as charged by some of its enemies?

Before answering these questions it might be well to review briefly the farm cooperative movement. From the first start over a hundred years ago by 28 jobless weavers in Rochdale, England, to the present international set-up involving millions of members and billions of dollars, is a fact certainly significant of its progress.

Co-ops have usually started during periods of economic stress, either during depressions or during periods of free enterprise malfunction, when, for example, goods are scarce and unfairly high in price. They have been formed to cut purchasing costs (as in the case of purchasing co-ops) or to obtain higher markets for products (as in the case of selling co-ops)—for the benefit of the member.

Cooperatives have been described as organizations in which individuals perform for themselves economic functions that would otherwise be performed for them for a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

profit, or not be performed at all.

Most co-ops, including farm co-ops, adhere to certain fundamental principles. Briefly, they are:

1. Open membership to all except those known to be inimical to the cooperative movement.
2. One vote per member. Control is thus democratic.
3. Limited returns on capital. Dividends are never above eight per cent, usually four or five per cent.
4. Distribution of savings to patron-members on the basis of the amount that each bought or sold minus withholdings for reserves and educational purposes.

Farm co-ops in the United States began making headway soon after World War I. Farmers, threatened with foreclosure and falling prices, learned that they could exist financially only if they banded together in marketing and purchasing societies. Cooperative business in one great stride grew from two billion dollars in 1920 to five billion in 1944; and membership increased from two million to over four million. There are now 10,000 farm cooperatives in the United States.

Most of these 10,000 are small organizations doing business only in thousands of dollars. But some —such as the Cooperative Consumers Association of Kansas City, Missouri, and the California Cooperative Fruit Growers Association— have capital involving millions of dollars. The C.C.A. recently bought 68 oil wells to add to the 294 they already own. The California group in 1945 paid 11 million dollars for the lumber town of Westwood with its facilities and timberland, thereby obtaining a new source of wood for packing cases for citrus fruit.

Despite all this high finance, co-ops in the United States do a negligible amount of business in comparison with all other types of businesses. During 1945 they did only four per cent of United States wholesale business, 1.5 per cent of retail. In the petroleum industry they did only two per cent.

Most farm co-ops spring up regionally. Thus, for example, Minnesota and Missouri, states friendly to the co-op movement, have mushroom growths of organizations. In Columbia, Missouri, headquarters of the Missouri Farmer's Association, several types of co-ops exist. There are five co-op student houses on the University of Missouri campus. The town has a large co-op grocery store, a feed store and a service station. At the M.F.A. headquarters, a farm magazine, *The Missouri Farmer,* is published monthly.

More indicative of the mushroom growth is the town of Cabool, Missouri, where the M.F.A. has several enterprises, including a farmer's exchange, a creamery, a dairy, and a service station. Nearly 15 per cent of the town's population of 1100 are employed by the co-ops.

The M.F.A., like other co-ops, is backing constructive farm legislation. It has fought for farm-to-market roads, and a school-lunch program in Missouri; and, on a national scale, for adequate funds for the Department of Agriculture.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Doing business wholesale and at cost, the M.F.A. has saved the farmer money both in marketing and in purchasing.

Despite all the advantages they furnish the farmer, co-ops have been the object of ill-will from several sources. The most articulate of these groups (and actually the mouthpiece of most of them) is the N.T.E.A.

The N.T.E.A. was organized to fight the co-ops. But why?

The core of their argument is that some farm co-ops which are exempt from income taxes should pay off like other businesses. Only half of the farm co-ops in the United States, however, comply with the tax exemption requirements because it virtually would mean operating at strict cost. Should these co-ops give up their tax exemption status, the amount of money collected by the government, as stated by one government tax official, would be only a drop in the bucket. Obviously, the N.T.E.A. is using this argument only as a device to fell bigger game.

That bigger game is the co-ops, themselves, which the N.T.E.A. hopes to remove as a threat to all-out profit business in the United States. The N.T.E.A., through Chairman McCabe, admitted that the "cooperative form of business enjoys two inherent advantages over private business, advantages that cannot be taken away by any change of laws. They are customer ownership and the division of profits on the basis of patronage rather than primarily on money invested."

The N.T.E.A. recently enlarged this opinion into four main charges, namely:

1. That private business in the same fields cannot successfully compete with farm cooperatives because business profits are taxed heavily and farm cooperatives are exempt from the federal income tax.

2. That they are permitted, under the federal tax law and regulations, to capitalize net margins, and with this tax free and easy capital, are constantly expanding into new lines of business not directly related to farming.

3. That cooperatives are a threat to free enterprise because with the use of this free and easy capital, their competition eventually eliminates private business, and destroys the profit system.

4. That through cooperatives, the Communists and reformers are working to destroy the American way of life.

The four charges reveal quite clearly that the N.T.E.A. feels "that cooperatives are a threat to free enterprise," and not that they merely are "avoiding" taxes.

CO-OP ANSWER

The co-ops, answering the main charge, stress the difference between income dollars (profits) and savings dollars. The corporation investor invests with the hope of gaining profits — profits from his surplus money. To the co-op investor, money is invested merely as a loan to enable the co-op to do business for him. It is an operating expense. If money is left over at the end of the transactions, it still belongs to the investor although it may not be

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

returned immediately. This surplus above the operating expense is used by the co-op to build up and maintain its facilities as any ordinary business would or should do:

In answer to the first charge, co-op leaders and others believe the tax question has no bearing on competition between co-ops and private business. Paul J. Foley, Washington tax counsel, recently stated: "This argument (by the N.T.E.A.) is . . . illogical since income taxes are applicable only to the net income after all business expenses including interest and officers' salaries are deducted. Thus, income taxes have no direct effect on the competitive position but are merely a levy upon the prizes of such activities."

Co-op leaders' answers to charges two and three, in effect, are: co-ops, although expanding, are not a threat to free enterprise. In purchasing co-ops, prices on goods are held up to the level of most retail prices, and sometimes above. Thus, since prices are average, competition does not develop. A similar situation applies to selling co-ops.

Co-op leaders like competition from private sources because it keeps them on their toes. They realize, like all business men, that if a monopoly is gained, it might mean the end of efficiency and aggressiveness. Besides, they have no incentive to monopolize regional trade because there is no personal financial gain involved.

As to the fourth charge, no facts as yet have been obtained to show that Communists are in the co-op movement. The statement, evidently, was manufactured purely for propaganda purposes. No one would say that Sweden is a communist country, yet that democratic nation has more co-ops than any other country in the world. Thus it would seem that the fears of the N.T.E.A. are ill-founded.

Co-ops are more democratic than private business itself. Co-op rules give all members one vote, and one vote only, regardless of the amount of business done through the co-op. The holder of a corporation dividend, on the other hand, holds as many votes as his pocketbook can afford.

Even if a co-op does expand in a given locality, it means merely that the economic functions change hands —that the individuals prefer to do their own wholesale buying and selling.

Senator Aiken (R.) of Vermont, in a national broadcast recently, said that "the private enterprise system means the right of a man to get ahead and to compete with himself and to unite with his neighbors, if necessary, to protect himself against unfair competition." This neatly sums up the attitude of co-op leaders everywhere.

If investigations of co-ops are carried out, as proposed by Representative Ploeser, it will be an investigation of an activity as American as our own backyards.

Newest London tobacco mixture: one ounce of powdered coltsfoot root, sprinkle in some rose leaves, lavender and clover flowers.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The House debates Congressional aid to war-born communities

Who is Responsible for Boom Towns?

By Morley G. Dilke

WHEN the federal government develops a large settlement in a small community, it creates taxation problems. The houses owned by the government cannot be taxed by the local community.

The people living in them need schools, fire and police protection, and all the other civic services ordinarily paid out of real estate taxes.

During the war this problem became so acute that local relief was given to the communities most adversely affected by Act of Congress. This relief Congress planned to stop shortly after the end of the war.

But the housing shortage which was in large part caused by the war made it necessary to continue to use housing of this type. In communities where the war workers moved away, veterans were given preference in the use of government projects.

The debate which follows[1] clearly shows how the problem arose; what Congress is asked to do about it; why some Congressmen feel that the problem should be handed back to the local communities while others feel that it is a continuing problem created by federal policies and that the increased costs incurred by the local communities should be paid for by them.

A believer in more and more government can point out that children must be educated; that in some cases local and state constitutions would have to be changed to enable school support to come from a sales tax instead of the local real estate taxes.

A believer in simplifying our governmental structure can point out that these houses rent at reasonable rates; the people who live in them should pay for the local schooling and if the problem is handed back to them they will have to solve it.

The House, at the close of the debate, voted to extend federal aid. Careful reading of the debate will show how complicated the reasoning back of this action was both by those advocating continuation of federal aid and those opposing it.

THE LANDIS BILL

Mr. Brown, Republican, Ohio. Mr. Speaker, I call up House Resolution 279, providing for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3682) to extend the period for providing assistance for certain war-incurred school enrollment, and ask for its immediate consideration.

1 *Congressional Record,* House of Representatives, Vol. 93, No. 142 pp. 9944-9962.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That immediately upon the adoption of this resolution it shall be in order to move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3682) to extend the period for providing assistance for certain war-incurred school enrollments. That after general debate, which shall be confined to the bill and continue not to exceed one hour, to be equally divided and controlled by the chairman and ranking minority member of the Committee on Education and Labor, the bill shall be read for amendment under the five-minute rule. At the conclusion of the consideration of the bill for amendment, the Committee shall rise and report the bill to the House with such amendments as may have been adopted and the previous question shall be considered as ordered on the bill and amendments thereto to final passage without intervening motion except one motion to recommit.

Mr. Brown. The necessity for this assistance is not as great as it has been in the past, but due to the great housing shortage that has persisted in this country we do have, near many of the former war plants and Army and Navy installations throughout the country, great Government - owned housing projects which have brought with them a tremendous increase in the enrollment in the schools in those particular portions of our districts. During the war, and since the war, these school children have been attending the schools in many particular districts which have much less tax income than before the war simply because much of the taxable property of the township or the school district, as I am sure many of you know from your own experiences, has been taken over by the Government and is no longer taxed. So, today we have quite a number of school districts where the pupil enrollment is much greater than it has ever been before, while at the same time the tax income of the school district is much lower than it has ever been before. In order to take care of this temporary situation during the war we did spend considerable money out of the Federal Treasury to help support those schools and to take care of the children of war workers and Army and Navy personnel.

There has been a great decline in that assistance need, but as I said a moment ago, because of the housing shortage many of these publicly owned housing facilities are still being occupied, even though the war plant itself may have been shut down or reconverted to some other sort of production. We have instances where men who have found employment as far as 50 or 60 miles away, still having to have a home for their children, are still residing in these war-housing installations. It is not thought it will take a great deal of money—in fact, this bill limits the total expenditure to $5,000,000—to continue this aid to these particular school districts where the need therefor still exists.

It is the belief, I am sure, of the education committee, at least, and it is the impression of the Committee on Rules, that the total expenditure will not reach $5,000,000 during the next year, but it is necessary to take this action and extend this law or authority, in this reduced manner in order to take care of those school districts which still remain uncared for because of the emergency created by the present housing shortage.

Mr. Sabath, Democrat, Illinois. Mr. Speaker, it comes mighty hard to me to call attention frequently to rules that are being brought to this House, making in order legislation which calls for more of the taxpayers' money. Unfortunately, many of my friends have some of these

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

schools in their districts, and they, I know, are in favor of this bill, which will cost somewhere between $5,000,000 and $7,000,000 dollars to take care of the schools in the districts where the War Department erected plants and factories away from districts and sections of our country where we had plenty of schools and facilities.

GHOST TOWNS

You older members will remember that for four or five years I objected to the War and Navy Departments' real estate experts recommending purchases of sites miles away from populated sections where there was available a plentiful supply of labor, manufacturing facilities, schools and housing accommodations. I pointed out that the experts who were recommending these sites were disregarding the tremendous cost that was entailed to the Government in the future, because they required the construction not only of many buildings and homes for the workers but also of schools, streets, sewers, places of entertainment and many other facilities.

I stated that as soon as the war was over these cities that had been built up surrounding and adjoining the plants would naturally become ghost towns and after the war it would be necessary to dismantle them at great loss to the Government. I realize that due to the shortage of housing many former war workers are still retaining their homes around these plants, despite the fact that they are obliged to travel from 20 to 50 miles to work in their new employment, these plants being closed. I call attention to that fact because I feel that the committee did not receive the information it was entitled to.

The localities and the school districts have not lost a great deal of tax income, as the gentleman from Ohio stated, due to the Government taking over some of the land and the school districts being deprived of their tax money, because most of the land that was acquired by the Government was extremely low-cost or cheap land and the taxes on such vacant property, did not amount to very much. On the other hand, the moment the Government started to construct towns around the section, the workers that moved in and were receiving good pay started to spend their money in that locality, and those districts and the mushroom towns that were built actually benefited the local governments. They have not lost anything whatever, because the tax benefits they derived out of the thousands of people that moved in were far greater than the few dollars the county, the township or the school district was deprived of in taxes because of the Government taking over the property.

I call attention to the fact that two of the members stated in the minority views filed with the committee report:

We voted against reporting out H. R. 3682 because of the lack of adequate information about, and specifications of, projects for which school funds should be provided.

Mr. Combs, Democrat, Texas. Mr. Speaker, the gentleman from Illinois knows that I have the highest regard for him, and I feel certain that he would not want to take his seat and leave any misinformation with us intentionally. With regard to the length of the hearings, may I make this observation?

Mr. Sabath. Yes; I have yielded to the gentleman.

Mr. Combs. This question has been studied and hearings have been held on it since early in the year by the Committee on Education and Labor. They held extensive hear-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ings. With regard to the scattering of these industries over the nation, if that had not been done, if all manufacturing and things of that kind, the building of airplanes and tanks and everything else and ships, had been concentrated in our heavily populated centers, they would have been more overloaded, and schools and transportation facilities would have been overtaxed and we would not have been able to get the job done. What actually happened was that every place in the nation had its factories and its installations and altogether we did a job that amazed the world. Without that, we could not have done it.

Mr. Sabath. Mr. Speaker, I fully appreciate that, but I stated then, and I repeat now, that it was not necessary to go 25 and 30 and 50 miles from nowhere where you had to build access roads from the main highways, streets, sewers, schools, churches, and places of amusement, saying nothing as to the homes that had to be built for the war workers running into costs of millions of dollars. That is one reason there is such a shortage of homes now—tens of thousands of homes had to be built for the war workers. I was interested in saving money for the Government and making it easier for the worker so that they would not be obliged to travel a long distance to go to work.

Mr. Rivers, Democrat, South Carolina. I want to say to the gentleman from Illinois that you are citing isolated instances. You are citing facts that do not exist, and you are leaving an impression on the floor of the House that a man of your standing should certainly retract.

Mr. Sabath. If the gentleman has any real information and will be honest, he would not dare to make that statement.

Mr. Rivers. I have it right here and I am going to make a speech on it.

Mr. Sabath. I know about the conditions and I called attention to them for four or five years. If the gentleman had been in the House when I frequently called attention to the mistakes that the War Department was making in following the advice of these so-called real estate experts on designating available localities, and what additional unnecessary expense such localities would entail, he would not ask that I retract my statement, but he would be obliged to confirm every statement that I have made.

I suppose the gentleman has one or two of these schools in his district. I have none. I am interested in school children and I want them to have an education. But I call attention to the unnecessary expenditures, at times reckless expenditures. However, that is water over the dam. Still I have a right to call attention to it. I should dislike very much to deprive any of the gentlemen who have some of these plants in their districts, and who need additional funds to maintain the schools, but I feel they could easily do without this aid of $5,000,000 or $6,000,000 in view of the revenue that the towns and townships derived from the spending of millions of dollars by the millions of war workers in these school districts.

Mr. Lanham, Democrat, Georgia. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 3682, known as the Landis Bill, is of supreme importance to the State of Georgia. In several sections of the State, notably at Brunswick, at Columbus in Muscogee County, and Marietta in Cobb County, the location of the huge Bell bomber plant which turned out great quantities of B-29's, there was an influx of workers with their families. Great housing projects were built

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for the war-time workers. This put a terrible strain upon the school facilities of these and other counties in the State. The Congress recognized its responsibility in helping the local school communities to meet their problem and enacted what has come to be known as the Lanham Act. But for the help given under the Lanham Act, the schools in many of our counties in Georgia would have broken down almost entirely. The problem was simply more than the State and local communities could meet unaided.

I am more familiar with the situation at Marietta, in Cobb County, than with the situation at Brunswick and Columbus because Cobb County is located in the seventh district which I represent. The situation in this county was made much more acute by the fact that the Government owns quite a large amount of real estate in the county. For instance, there is Kennesaw National Park which has taken from the tax rolls of the county 2,882 acres of the valuation of $72,050. The Bell bomber plant took from the tax rolls 2,350 acres at a valuation of $58.750. The Allatoona Dam has taken from the county's tax rolls 3,950 acres of a total value of $98,750. There is an Army air base located in the county which has taken 603 acres from the tax rolls of a total value of $15,075. This makes a total of 9,785 acres owned by the Government in the county of a total value of $144,625. All of this has been taken from the tax assessment rolls of the county.

This situation in Cobb County illustrates also the tremendous increase in enrollment of pupils in the county schools. In the school year 1942-43, the total enrollment was 5,290 in the schools of the county. In 1946-47, the total enrollment was 6,844, and an expected enrollment for the school year 1947-48 is 7,169.

The reason for the continued enrollment since the plant is no longer in operation is due to the fact that because of the housing shortage, all of the housing built for the workers in the Bell bomber plant is still occupied by people who work in Atlanta and other nearby cities. The children are still living in the county and must be taken care of by the local schools.

LOCAL EFFORT

To show that the local community and the State have done everything possible to meet the situation, I need only recite the figures. For the school year 1943-44, the local tax rate was five mills. This raised a total of $49,280.50. The State's contribution for the same period was $184,840.02. During that year the Federal Works Agency contributed Lanham funds in the total amount of $18,028.78, and there was miscellaneous income of $6,528, making a total of $258,677.30. In the school year 1946-47 the amount raised by a local tax of 15 mills was $143,000. For the same period the State contributions were $80,027, which, with $10,000 miscellaneous income, made the total expenditures for the year $575,000.

It is readily seen from the above that the Cobb County school system is overburdened with a war-incurred enrollment of approximately 2,000 more students than during its last normal year. The local government has gone its limit in trying to meet this responsibility, having increased the rate of taxation from five to 15 mills, as stated above, along with an increase in property valuations. It is to be noticed that the State has almost doubled its contribution. If this bill is not passed and Federal aid extended for one

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

more year, the county will simply have to cut its school term from nine to seven or possibly five or six months. This situation is definitely caused by the war and its aftermath and is, therefore, a Federal responsibility.

Mr. Brown. Mr. Speaker, I yield two minutes to the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. Rich).

Mr. Rich, Republican, Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, if you will read the minority report accompanying this bill, you will find that a year ago the communities which were receiving assistance were told that was the last year they would receive assistance, and they all agreed they would get out from under this load and take care of these communities themselves—the local communities in the States.

I tell you there are a lot of dilatory tactics being practiced in the various locations where these communities exist. It seems to me, if we are going to give $5,000,000 of the taxpayers' money for inefficiency back in the States, it is about time we called a halt to it and told these communities to tend to their own knitting. They are not expected to come in here and ask us for $5,000,000 to pay for the inefficiency of the local people.

Mr. Barden, Democrat, North Carolina. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Rich. I yield.

Mr. Barden. I wish to call the gentleman's attention to the fact that we were also told that a housing authority was going to dispose of these properties. That has not been done. Therefore, the revenues derived from taxation on these properties is not being received by the communities.

Mr. Rich. The quicker they sell these properties to the local communities the better off the people of this country are going to be.

Mr. Barden. I agree with the gentleman.

Mr. Rich. It is past time that the Government got out of business. We have been having too much of the Government getting into all kinds of business. It just makes me sick because we have so much inefficiency in our Government. The employes are inactive. They do not do the things they should. If anyone should get out and stir these people up, it is the Congress. The only way we can stir them up is to stop these appropriations. Then they will act.

Mr. Brown. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. Rich I yield.

Mr. Brown. I ask the gentleman to yield to point out the fact that this bill returns $5,000,000 of the taxpayers' money which has been paid into the Federal Treasury, returns it to the school districts, so that the taxpayers get the benefit of it, including several areas in the gentleman's own State.

Mr. Rich. I want the people in my district to get on their toes and get busy. I do not want any more fooling around. I want to stop these appropriations for inefficiency back in the States.

Mr. Murdock, Democrat, Arizona. I have heard some gentlemen complain about war installations, feeling that war plants were often built not near their large cities but in remote rural communities where housing and school facilities had to be improvised throughout. I distinctly remember that during the period of preparation that the majority of members were seeking one kind of military installation or another and hoping to get war plants located within their districts, not only from the patriotic motive of wishing to

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

help in the war effort but also hoping, no doubt, that such wartime installations might prove an economic aid to their communities. Since the war I have heard some of my colleagues declare that they now wish there had been no such military or defense establishments located within their district. The aftermath and the headaches caused by the dislocations are extremely painful and difficult of solution.

One reason why I favor the bill which we shall take up on the adoption of this rule is that I know personally of several communities in Arizona adjacent to war plants which are struggling with their overcrowded school conditions and carrying an almost unbearable burden of debt and financial obligation. I am fairly well acquainted with the schools and the school authorities in Arizona. I have received numerous communications from school superintendents and school boards, urging that something be done under the former Lanham Act plan to assist them.

Mr. Landis, Republican, Indiana. Mr. Speaker, I move that the House resolve itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill (H. R. 3682) to extend the period for providing assistance for certain war-incurred school enrollments.

The motion was agreed to.

Accordingly the House resolved itself into the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union for the consideration of the bill H. R. 3682, with Mr. Leonard W. Hall in the chair.

The Clerk read the title of the bill.

Mr. Landis. Mr. Chairman, I yield myself five minutes.

Mr. Chairman, under this bill the Federal Works Administrator is authorized to continue Federal assistance to those schools that are still overburdened with war-incurred school enrollments and which are unable through local revenue and from State contributions to provide schooling for this increased enrollment.

The amount will not exceed the sum of $5,000,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1948. The program cost $14,000,000 in 1945-46 and $7,000,000 in 1946-47.

This is not a bill for foreign aid but for American school children. It provides Federal assistance for a pressing problem that has arisen out of the war and its aftermath. During the war period thousands of war workers and their families migrated into war areas, greatly increasing school attendance and imposing severe financial burdens on local school systems. During the war the Government recognized its responsibilities to these communities and granted assistance under the Lanham Act.

Without such assistance many of these schools will have to close down or cut their school term to four to six months. The State aid pays only a part of the total costs of maintenance and operations of schools. The local school agencies have made a strenuous effort to meet this problem by increasing substantially the amount of local funds for school purposes. This increase in State and local revenues, however, has not been sufficient to meet the double burden of this increased enrollment and the loss of tax revenues.

The Federal Government has acquired and now owns considerable land in numerous communities. This land has been removed from the local tax rolls. Last year 76 schools received assistance because of the problem of tax-exempt federally owned property. Another 26 com-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

munities were provided school services for residents of nontaxable Army or Navy-owned reservations and 65 areas faced the problem of Federal-owned war housing.

Defense housing continues to be occupied at capacity levels. The problem is intensified by the shortage of housing and the increased need for veteran housing.

The early enactment of this bill is urgent. The local school districts must hire their teachers for the 1947-48 school year.

It is true the Federal Public Housing Authority has failed to dispose of the houses, stores, and other property. Why, I do not know. According to an act of Congress they must dispose of them by December 31, 1948. I hope it will be possible to dispose of this property by June 30, 1948. The Public Housing Administration has collected $274,760.000, but only a net income from rents of $111,130,000.

It is true the Federal Works Commissioner testified last year they would be able to close out the program in one more year. I also believe Mr. Fields wants to be relieved of this emergency problem. But the problem is still with us, the Government still owns this property, and the States are not able to furnish enough State aid to handle the situation.

The minority report says the evidence presented covers less than a dozen communities. But according to evidence which I have from the Federal Works Administration, 132 schools from 35 States have requested financial aid. It will take approximately $5,000,000 to take care of this program.

Congress has made arrangements to give and loan $20,000,000,000 to foreign countries and much more will be demanded to take care of the children and people in these foreign lands.

I am surprised and disappointed to learn that some people who favor these gigantic gift-loans to foreign nations oppose this $5,000,000 bill to help educate our own American children.

Mr. Lensinski, Democrat, Michigan. However—there is another phase of the housing program that I wish to discuss briefly—and that directly concerns the war-incurred educational program. The Federal Public Housing Authority is obligated under law to turn back to the local authorities payments in lieu of taxes, sums equivalent to those that would have been received had the property been privately owned.

RENT

The real difficulty is that the Housing Authority is collecting the rents from these housing projects and bringing them back to Washington to make a good showing for the Federal Public Housing Authority. The sums they pay to the local governments in lieu of taxes are not sufficient to meet the expenses incident for the normal operations of the schools, fire department, police department, and other community facilities as provided by title II of the Lanham Act.

In brief, the Federal Public Housing Authority, in order to make a good showing for themselves in Washington, are in reality robbing the local authorities of the funds necessary to educate the children in the communities this bill is designed to assist. It is because of these conditions that I was reluctant to support this legislation.

Mr. Chairman, I was convinced by the testimony presented to our committee that there are school districts in the United States that require emergency educational aid. I

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

was also convinced after a careful study of all the facts that the Federal Public Housing Authority in many instances was not giving the local governments a square deal in the sums they are paying in lieu of taxes. However, the most important factor to consider at this time is that the first of September—the beginning of the school year—is almost at hand. That, coupled with the fact that this session of Congress will shortly adjourn—in my humble opinion—is the reason why this legislation should be enacted into law in order that children residing in school districts, burdened with war-incurred enrollments, will be assured of a full term education beginning this fall.

Mr. Landis. Mr. Chairman, I yield five minutes to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Buck].

Mr. Buck, Republican, New York. Everyone who has had to do with education not only admits that education is a State function but will fight to the last ditch to assure that education does remain a State function. If it is admitted that education is a State responsibility, why was it that the states, on notice a year ago that this Federal aid would terminate, sit back and do absolutely nothing? The States had one year's notice that they would get no more of this Federal aid. Yet here it is almost the first of August, and we are told that unless the Federal Government passes this legislation many children in the States will have no education. The States lie back and attempt to shift their responsibility to the Federal Government, probably because they think the Federal Government is easy, and I am beginning to agree with that interpretation.

I want to turn briefly to the types of housing which furnish the excuse for this legislation. There are two kinds of housing for which it is claimed that the Federal Government has responsibility. One is the permanent Army and Navy installation. Can anyone conceive of the Government attempting to take away a Navy yard or an Army post and not have the Chamber of Commerce, the mayor of the city, and all the first citizens come down here with tears in their eyes to ask us to save that facility for their community? Yet, having that benefit, they now come here and ask the Federal Government to help educate the children that accompany that installation.

The second type affected is temporary housing. I say to you that any community which has this temporary housing with which to provide homes for its returning veterans and for others during the housing shortage is indeed blessed. I wish I had 5,000 or 10,000 more temporary houses in my own community, and then possibly we could accommodate veterans who need housing so badly. Yet that is given as an excuse. The very communities that have the advantage of this surplus housing, into which veterans and their families can move, are the ones who are coming here and asking nutriment from the Federal nipple in order to educate the children who live in those houses.

Mr. Gwinn, Republican, New York. Mr. Chairman, if there ever was a case where the people have the capacity to pay for the education of their own children, those are the special housing projects given to the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

people at low rent, with everybody in those places well employed at high wages around airports, and in air construction and in industrial centers; full employment, with high wages, and yet the alleged incapacity to pay the tuition cost of educating their own children.

Mr. Barden. Does the gentleman realize that regardless of the high wages the floating population of those communities received, that the taxes paid to meet the expenses of educating their children must come from the land and the ad valorem taxes levied on it?

Mr. Gwinn. That is not quite true as I understand the situation. The fact is that the wealth is there. The States have had two years within which to adjust their own machinery to collect the necessary funds from the people who have the money. The local assessor could assess the taxes necessary because under the law the Federal Housing Authority that still owns these properties must turn back to the local school districts enough money to take care of these children.

All that the local tax assessor has to do is to assess these properties, the real estate, the houses, the stores, the gas stations, to raise enough money so that the Housing Authority which is really the deficient Federal arm here at fault will have to pay these funds back to the communities to educate these children.

Mr. Hugh D. Scott, Jr., Republican, Pennsylvania. Is there any testimony to support this amount of $5,000,000?

Mr. Gwinn. There is no testimony to support any special sum or any special amount. The only people who appeared before this committee added up their claims to a little over $1,000,000, and yet this committee is inviting the communities as a whole not to pay for their own education but to come to Washington and ask for $5,000,000. In effect this bill says: "Here it is, take it away."

Mr. Combs. I know the gentleman does not want to leave any misinformation concerning the right to tax. The gentleman knows, if he will stop and think, that these Federal housing projects cannot be taxed one dime. What the Congress has done is to authorize payment to the local communities by the Federal Government of what taxes would be levied on these little temporary shacks, were they privately owned.

DUTY OF COMMUNTY

Mr. Gwinn. In order to arrive at the amount, the assessor under the law is required to indicate what the amount of the assessment would be, then the Federal Housing Authority takes a part of the rents collected from these people and turns it back to the school district. There it is, there is the money, there are the people with the money, if they will only collect it and apply it. The States have built these houses, given them to the people. The property is there. The value is assessable; yet people in New York and other states are asked to continue to educate the children. They have plenty of property with which they could educate their own children. This amounts to a double gift that the people of this country are asked to send to these communities.

Mr. Monroney, Democrat, Oklahoma. Mr. Chairman, the distinguished gentleman from New York would not want to leave the impression with the Congress that the local communities have not raised their own taxes. They have been raised in the case of these properties to the extent of $15,000,000. The Congress is asked to assume a little less than 30 per cent of the load to help in this education problem.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Gwinn. The fact is that these particular communities are not making their contribution, but should.

Mr. Rivers. Mr. Chairman, there has been ample testimony and ample evidence given to the great Committee on Education and Labor and the Rules Committee justifying the passage of this legislation. If you can picture the brass hats who built a lot of these housing projects going into a community and taking everything they could take, building these projects, and under the law being required to give back to the school districts a certain amount of money which they did not do. and their rights under the law should be equal, and assessing these districts as though they were cornfields and not a housing project, leaving them absolutely helpless, you get an accurate picture of the conditions that the gentlemen from Georgia, Mississippi and Texas have told you about.

We have one community in our district of 40,000 war workers. They built housing projects so large you get lost in them. They have not turned them back. I agree with the gentleman from New York, in discussing this matter, they should have been turned back, but they have not been turned back and until they are turned back we are absolutely without help to run these districts. In one little county in my district I know of they have raised the school levy 23 mills, which is taking all the property from the people practically. I will tell you something else they have done about some of these housing projects. The gentleman from New York told you that the war workers get these fabulous salaries and are given low rents. That does not exist in my part of the country. In every housing project in my district they have raised the rent, yet they are not giving the money to the school districts in accordance with the law.

Mr. Landis. As long as the Government collects the rents and controls the houses it ought to pay the school district?

Mr. Rivers. Why, that is an obvious obligation.

Mr. Colmer, Democrat, Mississippi. Just to clarify and emphasize that situation, is it not a fact that whatever rent is collected on these housing projects goes into the Federal Treasury?

Mr. Rivers. Of course it does and if they were honest about this thing we would not have to pass this legislation. We have sent the money to Washington and I do not think it is remiss of us to ask you to send it back to us.

Mr. MacKinnon, Republican, Minnesota. The gentleman does not wish to create the impression that these projects are self-sustaining?

Mr. Rivers. No. I mean to say, though, that if these housing projects were run right and the schools got their proportionate part, we would not be coming in here asking for this legislation. The gentleman from Michigan told us in a very masterly way they are trying to make a racket for themselves in Washington instead of meeting their direct obligation.

Mr. Colmer. Mr. Chairman, I hope that in the consideration of this bill no one will confuse the problem before us this morning with the general question of Federal aid to education. The two have nothing in common and are entirely separate. This is a simple problem of carrying out commitments which were made dur-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing the war period. What do I mean by that? I mean simply that the Federal Government brought these people from all parts of the country into communities, in many instances small communities; it gathered them there to perform a specific wartime act. This resulted in overtaxing the school and other facilities of these communities. Unfortunately, when the guns ceased firing on the front these people did not leave these communities. They are still there in most instances.

Mr. Gwinn. Under the citation that the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Lesinski] mentioned, the Housing Authority must turn back whatever money the assessor says is necessary to meet the taxes on these very houses.

Mr. Colmer. I am glad I yielded to the gentleman for I want to answer that question. Provision was made under the Lanham Act, and if the gentleman will pardon a self-serving declaration, it was put in there at my suggestion to try to help that situation. But the trouble is that the amount allowed is insufficient to anything like meet the situation.

This is a real problem and one that must be met if these children are to receive education. Moreover, I repeat that this is a war-incurred obligation of the Federal Government. I believe that this Congress believes in fair play. I have confidence that this body will go along with those of us who are sponsoring this legislation.

Mr. Curtis, Republican, Nebraska. Mr. Chairman, whatever is the cause of the unhappy situation in reference to housing and the various postwar problems of the country, certainly they are not the responsibility of a few communities. There was placed in my district one of the largest Naval ammunition depots in the country. It took out of taxation one-fourth of one county. I have a letter here from one of the schools involved, which states:

We are educating about 500 from the Spencer Park area. Our only source of help for this is about $15,000 Federal Public Housing pays in lieu of taxes. The personal tax from this area is almost negligible. Our per pupil cost in Hastings this past year is $120.-52. This means that we get about $15,000 F.P.H.A. money to apply on an approximate $60,000 expense.

Mr. Rees, Republican, Kansas. Mr. Chairman, in my judgment the projects under consideration today may be described as war casualties. I have two of them in my district. They would not have been there except because of activity created by war conditions.

I appreciate the position of the gentlemen who oppose this legislation on the general proposal that they do not favor Federal aid to education. The projects under consideration today do not come under that category. I call attention to the fact that the Government is now collecting from the project in my district known as Planeview, at the rate of about $500,000 a year. We are only asking that the Government return a part of that fund to be used for the support of education of the children in that project. There are about 2,500 children who must have school facilities. The State, the county, and the district are contributing all they can under the law. We are asking for the return of a part of the $500,000 in rent that goes to the Federal Treasury and is paid by the people who live in the community.

If you follow the plan submitted by some of the members by taking the project away, it means that someone is going to assume the respon-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sibility for selling these houses and sending the people back to the States and communities from whence they came. The people are there—half of the families are veterans' families. We have told veterans we were going to provide houses for them. Until other homes are provided, the best we can do is to let them use the temporary housing now in existence.

It is said we should tax the property. The fact is the property has little tax value. The project I have in mind is far removed from any city. It was put there where people could live while employed in war industry. They do pay a small amount of taxes that are applied on the cost of running the school.

Mr. Monroney. Mr. Chairman, this is not a local problem, although many of us have a local interest in it. It involves 367,000 school children in this country in 35 States. Only 127,000 of those 367,000 are there because of the war. The rest of the students were residents of little districts that were existing and sustaining themselves pretty well until this war bulge came to their areas. This increased their enrollment in many districts as high as 80 to 90 per cent. For the 193 schools affected it boosted total enrollment by more than 45 per cent.

Now, what do we do if we fail to give this aid that is asked today? We not only penalize the 127,000 students who are war-located, but we penalize all the rest of the 367,000 students, the permanent students, by giving them all only a five or six-month term. Uncle Sam is solely responsible for the placement of all of this added enrollment in these small communities.

In my own community, if this war installation had been located within Oklahoma City, a city of 250,000 population we would not have had to ask for any help whatever. But because of war restrictions they had to build this war housing area eight miles out of the city, separated from other school districts of the city, and place it in a little farming community, and we thus had this unusual war burden there.

Mr. Gwinn. I wonder if this property which is in Oklahoma is of such little taxable value that the Governor and the county affected would like to see it moved away.

Mr. Monroney. I do not think they would, because we feel we are still making a great contribution in servicing B-29 airplanes at this locality. Much has been said about the failure of the communities to do anything about financing their own problem. Yet $15,000,000 a year additional revenue has been raised by these little districts to carry not only their own load but the load that Uncle Sam placed on them.

The tax burden has gone up more than 34 per cent, as a national average, on all of these school districts that are affected. In my own community, I would like to say to the distinguished gentleman, we have raised our ad valorem tax by 15 per cent. We are trying to do our job. We have increased our school income from the State of Oklahoma from automobile licenses by 26 per cent. We have raised from the State aid funds to this school district another increase of 34 per cent.

I still say the locality is doing a mighty good job in trying to solve this problem themselves. But they cannot meet and solve this problem overnight. They could not build commercial enterprises in this place because materials were limited. Every man knows that unless you have some business which you can

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tax, in addition to residence property, you cannot maintain school districts, because revenue from a residential community only, without business taxation cannot give you the revenue for the type of education you must have.

You may say, "Cut down the amount you are spending for schools." The State of Oklahoma recognized the great deficiency in State teachers' salaries, and made it mandatory that we raise the teachers' salaries in every school district. They are still too small, but in order to qualify as a regular school, we had to increase the cost of operating this small school outside of Oklahoma City in order to pay the teachers enough salary. We are asking for only $5,000,000 to take care of this war-born emergency for one more year for these 367,000 children affected.

I hope the House will support this measure.

Mr. Combs. Mr. Chairman, I can but believe that those members who are opposing this small appropriation to assist in the education of children in these war-burdened areas are doing so under a misapprehension of the facts. They have their facts all wrong.

My State of Texas, in proportion to its size at least, probably has fewer communities that have this problem than most of the States. However, we do have a few. I have some in my own district. They are the French Independent School District, the Vidor School District, the Orange Independent School District, and the Groves Independent School District.

I think I can best help those of you who are not familiar with the problem to understand it by taking a typical example of what these communities have to overcome; and this situation exists throughout the nation in at least 35 States. I will take that of Orange, Texas. The argument is made that when more industries settle in a place they have great property values there and that the States and communities ought to finance this burden by themselves. All right; let us see what happened.

In about 1940 the Consolidated Steel Corporation of California came down to Orange and they found the combination of deep water facilities and other things they needed to carry on their great operations. They put in a great shipyard and during the war turned out some of the finest destroyers, destroyer escorts, and other types of naval ships, and they employed over 20,000 workers in these yards. Two other yards there expanded and as a result this small city of some 15,000 or 20,000 people found itself suddenly swelled to 60,000 with no increase in the taxable wealth of the community. Before the war the Orange Independent School District had a scholastic population of 2,000. At present it has 6,200. During the war, as a result of the naval building program, the F.P.H.A. constructed about 3,500 public housing units which now house naval personnel, civilian employes, and veterans. Approximately 45 per cent of the school-age population of this independent school district live in this housing project. F.P.H.A. pays, in lieu of taxes, about 25 per cent of the cost of education of these children. The other 75 per cent, except for the State apportionment, must be borne by the Orange Independent School District. Due to war restrictions on building there has been comparatively little expansion of privately owned business within the school district. And in addition to that, the Navy has acquired a considerable portion of the water-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

front property that was formerly privately owned and subject to taxation and thus removed it from the tax rolls. Such business expansion as is now taking place is largely outside the school district.

Let me show you what the community has done. In an effort to meet the educational emergency the people of Orange increased their tax levy for school purposes from $1 to $1.50 on the $100, the constitutional limit within 25 cents of the ad valorem tax levied in the District of Columbia for all purposes. In addition to that, their board of equalization raised the property value, for school purposes, to approximately 100 per cent of actual value. Thus, they have done everything within their power to meet their problem. Nevertheless, unless they receive aid this coming year their school term will be reduced from its normal nine months to approximately six months.

To sum up, the State of Texas and the people of Orange have done a tremendously fine job in providing funds for supporting the public free schools. The Legislature of Texas, at its recent session, increased the appropriations for public free schools in Texas from about $35 to $55 per pupil. Those funds are allocated for the benefit of the children living in this Government housing project on exactly the same basis it is to the children of permanent status. The city of Orange and its school district have done everything possible within the law in raising taxation to the limit. But the city of Orange, like many communities in Texas, maintains a very fine public school system and the cost is about $110 per pupil. And because so large a percentage of the entire school population lives in this Federal housing project their school term will be reduced from nine months to six months unless Federal aid is extended. All this bill would do is provide for the Federal Government to supplement the available funds of the school district so they can operate their normal nine months of school.

In conclusion I would remind you that only yesterday this House passsed a bill which will have the effect of subsidizing lead, copper, and zinc mines of the nation which are so far depleted they cannot be economically operated without such help. The subsidy will total more than $70,000,000 annually. That was done because, for the safety and defense of this country, it was felt it was necessary for these mines to continue to operate. But I want to say that we have another war-produced problem of educating 367,000 children scattered around over this nation by reason of war activities—it is a national problem. While we are subsidizing privately owned mines let us not withold a little subsidy to educate these school children of the nation.

Mr. Busbey, Republican, Illinois. What about these communities the gentleman speaks of that did not get their contracts placed before the war ended under the Lanham Act and have had to go out and build their schools with bond issues

Mr. Barden. Let me say whether they got the contracts completed or not, whether the population that exists there is making good money or whether the salaries are good or whether the chamber of commerce wants them there has no bearing on the existing facts and conditions. That is the thing I am looking at. My district is chuck full of New York and other auto licenses right now and they are not even willing to buy a license, much less pay an ad valorem tax or pay a tax for the support of schools unless somebody

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

chokes it out of them. You have heard me in the well of this House say that this floating population is constantly bringing about problems. What I want to do is live long enough to see the Federal Government get out of my district as far as owning houses and renting to people are concerned. I want the homes in my district owned by people who live there or owned by private citizens; then according to our tax structure they can make their normal proper and expected contributions to the community and to the community projects, such as schools and so forth. But so long as the Housing Authority or any other branch of the Federal Government goes in there and continues to own these houses and rent them, then pinch off a few pennies and drop them into the General Treasury, we are going to be confronted with the very problems we are confronted with right now, except more of them.

This bill strikes me as being the fair and proper thing for the Federal Government to do. It is a fair contribution for the Federal Government to make. The matter of Federal support of schools has no place in the argument.

Mr. Dondero, Republican, Michigan. Mr. Chairman, no one will ever accuse me of taking this floor to urge Federal contributions for local expenses. If I did not believe that a real and difficult problem existed as a reasonable aftermath of the war, I would not be in favor of this bill. I am in favor of the bill and shall support it.

I want to present to the House an example of what happened in one area of my congressional district. I believe there are others in the Detroit, Michigan, metropolitan area. I have a unit known as the Livonia Township School District which is contiguous to the city of Detroit. It is an area in close proximity to very large industrial plants which were engaged in the production of war materials during the war. The population of that district increased 42 per cent during the war years. That district now has 411 high school students who are being sent to 10 different high schools outside of the district. It does not have the means nor the taxable property to build a high school within the district at the present time. The people are taxing themselves to the limit of the law allowed in Michigan. If you were a member of the school board of that township, what would you do to provide reasonable school facilities for the children who have moved into that district because of the war effort?

Mr. Gwinn. As a school man, you know that the people in Detroit in that particular district are sending their children to other high schools, and they can pay and do pay tuition. That is the way we handle it. Is that not so?

Mr. Dondero. I am glad the gentleman brought that up. This school board has already been notified by the different high schools to which these children were sent that they no longer will be able to provide for them. That will return the problem to the local school district. The Government already has recognized that the problem in this district is one which has been created by the war effort because Federal funds have been granted in two or three previous years.

I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Buck].

Mr. Buck. Would the gentleman tell us how long he thinks such a condition would continue — how many years does he think it might continue?

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Dondero. I do not think that I can tell you, but I would say that I am not in favor of permanent legislation of this kind and if this bill were permanent legislation I would vote against it.

Mr. Buck. But the gentleman does think that it might be two years or three years before the State can solve the problem?

Mr. Dondero. I do not think it ought to run that long. I think the State will have to provide some way to meet this problem sooner or later and the quicker the better. But for one more year I think the Federal Government should assist in solving this problem, and I hope this bill passes.

* * *

The Chairman. Under the rule, the Committee rises.

Accordingly the Committee rose; and, the Speaker having resumed the chair, Mr. Leonard W. Hall, Chairman of the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, reported that that committee, having had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3682) to extend the period for providing assistance for certain war-incurred school enrollments, pursuant to House Resolution 29, he reported the bill back to the House with sundry amendments adopted by the Committee of the Whole.

The Speaker. Under the rule, the previous question is ordered.

Is a separate vote demanded on any amendment? If not, the Chair will put them en gross.

The amendments were agreed to.

The Speaker. The question is on the engrossment and third reading of the bill.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed and read a third time and was read the third time.

Mr. Gwinn. Mr. Speaker, I offer a motion to recommit.

The Speaker. Is the gentleman opposed to the bill?

Mr. Gwinn. I am, Mr. Speaker.

The Speaker. If no member of the minority wishes to offer a motion to recommit, the gentleman from New York [Mr. Gwinn] qualifies.

The Clerk will report the motion to recommit.

The Clerk read as follows:

Motion offered by Mr. Gwinn of New York; Mr. Gwinn moves to recommit H. R. 3682 to the Committee on Education and Labor.

The previous question was ordered.

The Speaker. The question is on the motion to recommit.

The motion was rejected.

The Speaker. The question is on the passage of the bill.

The bill was passed.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.

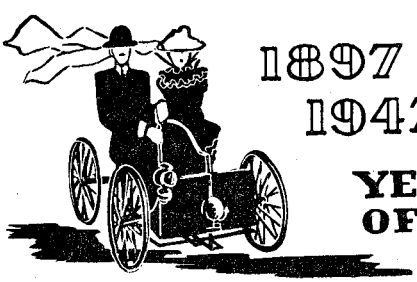
The Stars and Bars Forever Department:

Senator Millard Tydings of Maryland introduced a bill in the Senate authorizing Southern guard regiments to carry battle streamers denoting service in the Confederate Army.

* * *

The Anthropoid Ape Research Foundation, breeder of chimpanzees for scientific research, has a favorite named "Mugwump." Mugwump accompanied his mistress to town until he picked up the habit of sneaking up behind girls on the streets and slapping or pinching them. He is a "gentleman of distinction," once passing up seven drinks fixed especially for him, for champagne and Scotch.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



1897 - 1947 50 YEARS OF FORUM

In 1897, they were saying of Russia . . .

And this is no delusion, whatever vague apprehensions it may inspire: Russia today holds the political supremacy of the Old World. . . . All that Russia requires is a far-sighted, heroic Czar who, comprehending the needs of today, as Peter the Great did those of 200 years ago, shall complete the work begun by him, commit Russia irrevocably to Occidentalism and liberalism, and thus earn for her the sympathy and respect, instead of the jealousy and dread, of other nations. . . . There is no reason to fear her supremacy. If she remain coarsely despotic, it cannot last; if she become liberal, it can be only a blessing.

And authors were objecting to socialism with words such as these:

"This of course is not reform, but revolution. A physician proposes to cure the body; but the socialistic remedy proposes to get rid of the body altogether. Free proprietorship and competition have incidental evils; therefore abolish private property, root and branch. To the question, 'What shall we do for the submerged tenth?' the reply is: 'Submerge the other nine-tenths'."

Reporting on the advantages of coeducation in universities, one teacher reported:

The advantages are the presence of perfectly regular and enthusiastic students who are anxious to learn all they can. The disadvantages are that the men do not ask questions as freely in the presence of women; at least, so it seemed to me.

British policy in the East made headlines in 1897, too . . .

"The continuity of British policy itself has been reversed. The traditional policy was friendship to or maintenance of Turkey; not because British statesmen loved the Turk, but because—with Metternich, who said, 'if the Turk did not exist, it would be necessary to invent him'—they believed him to be a necessity to Europe and to India. The modern policy is hatred to and destruction of Turkey, whatever it may result in to Europe or to India. If this policy be persevered in and carried out to the end, its effects in Europe and in India will be more momentous, more unexpected, and more startling than even in Turkey itself."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORUM: ARE WE GIVING

YES!

By Carol L. Thompson

IN THE Seventy-Ninth Session of Congress, 3,000 bills were introduced to increase federal aid to veterans; in the first three months of the Eightieth Session, 1,200 bills were introduced. More than 57 new laws were finally added to the record as the Eightieth Congress adjourned. Without including a proposed bonus and without adding in the $2,000,000,000 terminal leave fund, the 1947-1948 budget included more than $7,000,000,000 for veterans' aid (cut less than two per cent by Congress)—more than taxpayers gave the federal government in any one year prior to 1941; one dollar out of every five in the federal budget!

Congress had its eye on some veterans' statistics but ignored others. World War II veterans with their families now make up 25 per cent of our total population; some estimates say the proportion will reach 43 per cent by 1952. More precisely (and dangerously), however, about 4,000,000 out of 18,000,000 veterans stand to benefit most by the aid program; 14,000,000 veterans will feel it primarily in their roles as taxpayers. As the magazine *Business Week* aptly phrased it, with veterans of all wars now totalling a full third of the working population of 60,000,000, the program of general benefits for veterans "approaches in character the business of taking in each others' washing."

With the enormous political potential of veterans, their families and the lobbies that represent them, it is small wonder that Congressmen are concerned with increasing federal aid for veterans. The economy program of the Eightieth Congress side-stepped expenditures for veterans' aid and merely sniped a little at the overhead of the Veterans Administration. In an increase of federal aid for veterans amounting to $200,000,000, the most recent Congress augmented minimum subsistence and pension allowances for disabled veterans taking rehabilitation training, cancelled back taxes for the war dead, provided $35,000,000 for veterans' housing (to be converted from army barracks), and, not to forget the older boys, increased pensions for survivors of the Spanish American and Civil Wars by 20 per cent (plus other similar provisions).

In the light of these figures, it is my contention that we should not increase federal aid to veterans; on the contrary, we are already doing too much for the veterans of the Second World War. If we do not open our eyes to the problem in time and decrease federal aid, the millstone we are blindly hanging around our veterans' necks may prove unsupportable.

(Continued on page 234)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

'HE VETERANS TOO MUCH?

NO!

By Joseph C. Williams

IT IS hard to believe that scarcely two years after the end of the war there is an outcry against those who fought so bravely for their country. Those self-same men who were "our boys," our heroes, in 1945, are now described as the lazy, good-for-nothing members of the Fifty-Two-Twenty Club, riding the "gravy train," looking for a hand-out from the federal government. Nothing could be farther from the truth.

My opponent makes several erroneous assumptions and outlines them in his conclusion for my convenience. It is a grave mistake to assume that the average veteran wants the federal government to *give away* benefits and that he does not expect to pay his share of the veterans' aid program. He will pay his share when he can afford to, not at the moment when, jobless and homeless, he tries to make a new start in civilian life. Secondly, my opponent speaks wisely of the "income of the country," as though it were a fixed amount, like the income from one of the disability pensions he describes. This is not economically sound doctrine. The millions of young veterans who are being trained and retrained under the G.I. program will in time add their now incalculable share to the country's income, to its real wealth. After the last World War, with no such training program, hundreds of thousands of veterans found themselves ill-equipped for careers, and gradually became part of the depression army of the unemployed. Veterans selling apples on street corners, marching to Washington for a bonus —these may well sap the resources of the country more severely than the present charges for rehabilitation and education.

My opponent's final premise seems more justified on the face of it. "Those who sacrificed most," he declares, "can never be repaid." True enough, yet the least we can do for them is to provide adequately for their dependents, even if such provision is both expensive and recurring. And although "no cash payment . . . can make up for the war years" to the surviving veterans, the least that the government can do is to restore these young men and women to the competitive positions they would have had, had war not interrupted their careers. These are the real purposes of the veterans' aid program; their accomplishment is not "too much" for the veteran. Let us look at the record so far.

American veterans of all our wars are now estimated at 20,000,000—a full third of the country's total working force of 60,000,000. According to the Baruch report of August, 1945, the veterans of the World War II

(Continued on page 238)

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

(Continued from page 232)

Few citizens realize the magnitude of the federal debt being contracted to the veteran; fewer veterans realize that they, themselves, will foot the bill for the gravy train. Remember that it has been estimated that by 1952 these veterans with their families will comprise 43 per cent of the entire population of the country—of the taxpayers who must pay and continue to pay for the generous aid veterans are being voted today. Remember that the annual cost of the veterans aid program today is more than the tax income of the federal government *in any year prior to 1941,* that this cost is constantly increasing and that a decrease in employment or in prices, or a general "recession" will cause the federal tax income to shrink once again.

There are other highly pertinent facts. First of all, no one yet knows when the peak year for veterans' appropriations (for aid already legalized) will come. Eligibility for many veterans' benefits is limited to a definite period after the official end of the war. Eligibility for unemployment pay will not run out before 1949; school or job training will be open until 1952; loans of all kinds until 1957. Nonetheless, loans, like schooling, on-the-job-training and unemployment benefits—however much they cost—will not continue indefinitely. Expenditures for items such as these are *non-recurring* and should be distinguished from the *recurring* items in the program, such as pensions. Non-recurring items are perhaps easier to assess.

LOANS

Any honorably discharged veteran who can prove his investment a good risk is eligible for a government loan under the G.I. Bill of Rights. Loans may be partially guaranteed by the government (for up to $4,000) for homes, or farms or (up to $2,000) for businesses. By the end of May, 1947, only 736,687 home loans and 70,000 business loans had been made, worth more than $4,000,000,000. At that time, 1,000 guaranteed or insured loans had been repaid in full and 1,770 were in default (plus 3,161 pending defaults).

According to present law, then, more than 10,000,000 veterans are still eligible for G.I. loans. With less than one million taking advantage of this section of the Act, the cost of the loan program in 1946-1947 was more than $70,000,000 and the estimated cost in 1947-1948 will be more than $100,000,000. An estimated four per cent of this covers loss and the rest is yearly interest. Were more and cheaper housing available (and it should be before 1957), the cost of financing the loan program may be prohibitive. It should also be noted that the general effect of the loan program is to add to the rising cost of housing by putting millions of veterans in the competitive buying market, and to saddle hundreds of thousands of veterans with homes they will have to pay for for 25 years—homes that may, long before that time be worth less than nothing. Far from liberalizing the loan provisions of the G.I. Bill, it is my contention that these provisions should be stringently revised to cut the expense to the taxpayer and the future burden of the veteran.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The total cost to the taxpayer of the so-called "readjustment allowances" for veterans is also incalculable. At the beginning of 1947 only 120,000 veterans had drawn the maximum allowed them ($1040). In the past fiscal year, the federal government paid more than $1,260,000,000 in unemployment benefits to veterans; in 1947-1948 it is estimated that this part of the program will cost at least $990,000,000. Here again, although the theory was admirable, the unemployment allowances have not contributed to stabilizing the labor force, holding back inflation or, actually in many cases, helping the veteran to "readjust." Twenty dollars a week for doing nothing, involving neither incidental expenses nor taxes, often looks better than a beginning job at a normal starting wage. In spite of labor shortages in many areas, during some weeks of 1946, more than one million veterans drew unemployment pay. Abuses in self-employment allowances are also evident. Instead of increasing these allowances, they should be reduced until they no longer attract veterans from the legitimate labor market.

Possibly the aspects of the program that deserve least criticism are the education program and provisions for on-the-job training. In the 1946-1947 fiscal year, more than one and a half million veterans were in school at government expense, with the government paying up to $500 per year for each veteran's tuitions, books and other supplies, plus a living allowance of $65 per month for unmarried veterans and $90 per month for married veterans. More than 750,000 veterans, employed by 300,000 firms, were receiving allowances for on-the-job training. The combined cost of this part of the program in the last fiscal year was more than $2,100,000,000 and it is expected to increase this year. It is highly debatable whether even this wealthy country can long afford such disbursements, but zero-happy congressmen (and veterans) continue to press for greater benefits. The on-the-job-training program has been sadly abused, with less than 50 per cent of the states checking up on the 300,000 employing firms, who frequently use the program to bolster their payrolls at the government's (and the veteran's) expense. Schools and colleges, large and small, have collected government benefits, raised their tuition, and in effect their board and room, by overcrowding, doubling up and instituting cafeteria service. No further increases in educational allowances should be permitted.

RECURRING EXPENDITURES

But infinitely more expensive in the long run are the recurring items in the program for veterans' aid. Unemployment allowances will dwindle, the education program will taper off, yet it is conservatively estimated that an annual expenditure of $4,000,000,000 will remain—one-sixth of an average peace-time budget. Pensions will make up the bulk of this, with bills constantly before Congress to liberalize pension laws, and 7,000,000 veterans of all wars already drawing complete or partial support from Uncle Sam.

No fair-minded American would deny adequate pensions to wounded veterans and their dependents, within reason. In the past, however, politics-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

minded Congressmen have been more than generous with public funds for pensions; they will probably be tempted to repeat this generosity. Approximately $25,000,000,000 was spent up to 1942 including pensions for death, disability, for service, land grant bounties, care at soldiers' homes, vocational rehabilitation, life insurance, adjusted compensation, retirement pay and medical care.

Pensioners of the Revolutionary War received $70,000,000 in all, plus title to more than two million acres of land. The war of 1812 cost more than $46,000,000 in pensions, with the last pensioner of this war dying in 1946. Mexican War pensions cost $61,500,000 and combined Indian Wars pensions, $89 000,000 up to 1942 only. Pensions were far more liberal following the Civil War. Out of 2,213,365 soldiers, the peak number collecting pensions (in 1901) was 970,352, with expenditures by 1942 reaching more than $8,000,000,000. These pensions supported not only disabled veterans but their subsequent dependents until their deaths and veterans who developed disabilities long after the fighting ceased.

Eighteen months after World War I, the cost of pensions had reached $12,000,000 a year; 18 months after World War II pension costs were $1 200,000,000—one hundred times as much. Eighteen months after World War I, with 234,000 wounded in action, 25,000 veterans were receiving service-connected disability pensions—one for every ten wounded. In the same period of time after World War II, with 670,236 wounded in action, 1,700,000 veterans were receiving similar pensions or 26 for every 10 wounded.

Some explanations of these startling figures are in order. After the First World War almost no effort was made to acquaint veterans with disability pension provisions. Years later veterans were still filing claims for disabilities received in line of duty, by that time hard to prove and hard to disprove. After World War II, it was resolved to try a different technique: to publicize disability pensions and encourage veterans to file claims while records were still fresh. Unquestionably wise in theory, this program has resulted in a large measure of laxity in doling out pensions.

The cost of financing pensions mounts years after the end of a war, and this fact cannot be too often stressed. The cost of pensions for World War I veterans almost trebled between 1920 and 1945, with the peak year coming in 1940. If pensions for World War II mount at the same rate, costs may reach $50,000,000,000; if dependents of veterans have the same life expectancy as those of previous wars, they may still be drawing pensions in the year 2100!

This imposes a terrific burden on most veterans and their children; the 14,000,000 in their role as taxpayers are certainly gaining very little. Indeed it is questionable whether disability pensions in themselves are being properly handled. At the present time, every person discharged for a service-connected disability is eligible under federal law for:

1. monthly compensation of from $10 to $250 according to the degree of disability.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2. free hospitalization and medical treatment.
3. occupational rehabilitation and trade school or college training for up to four years, with monthly pension allowances, if rehabilitation is necessary, plus, of course, all general veterans' benefits.

So far this program has several disadvantages. First of all, delay in receiving allowances and treatment works undue hardship. Secondly, the emphasis of the program should be on rehabilitation, not pensions. This is particularly true of psycho-neurotic disabilities, where pensions merely "make neuroses pay" and pay indefinitely. Thirdly, little attention has been paid to the need for distinguishing among injuries as handicaps in varying degrees in the different trades and professions—the same injury might incapacitate a stone mason, handicap a baker and scarcely affect a lawyer. More care in administering the pension program might cut the cost and at the same time ensure more adequate aid to the disabled. In any event, no program involving so heavy a burden for all present and future taxpayers should be perpetuated, much less increased, without careful examination and reappraisal.

ADMINISTRATIVE COSTS

It goes without saying, for anyone at all familiar with the federal government, that the overhead for this veterans' program must be enormous. The Truman budget for 1947-1948 provided $873,000,000 for salaries and expenses for the Veterans Administration—approximately $200 per year for overhead for every veteran receiving benefits. At the beginning of 1947, 200,000 government employees were handling veterans' affairs: their salaries and fees for the 1947-1948 fiscal year has been estimated at $490,600,000. The President's Budget for 1947-1948 provided $3,000,000 for eight new Veterans Administration office buildings. The entire veterans program in 1940 cost less than the administration of veterans' affairs in 1947! The larger and more ambitious a veterans' aid program becomes, the more expensive and wasteful will be the cost of administering it.

A basic error made by the veteran, his family and Mr. Average Citizen is the assumption that the federal government is *giving* away benefits, that the veterans, in the vernacular, can "ride the gravy train." He can ride, all right, but the cost of the ride is all out of proportion to its length. The Federal government *gives* nothing, Congress gives nothing, the Veterans Administration gives nothing. Every employed American, every property owner, every consumer and every rent-payer, pays for the benefits of government. If veterans and their families comprise nearly 50 per cent of our population in another decade, then they will pay nearly 50 per cent of the cost of the veterans' aid program. And because on the whole the veterans of the Second World War are a young group, they will pay longer and more.

A second basic error is that it does not matter how much we promise the veteran in relation to the income of the country—the Stuart Chase theory that an enormous federal debt is no handicap to the United States. Regard-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

less of how much the country owes the veterans, it cannot promise them more than it can ever afford to pay.

Last but not least is the assumption that the country can actually repay, in cash, for the sacrifices made by the veteran. Those who sacrificed most can never be repaid. For those who survived, no cash payment, no educational privilege, no pension and no bonus can make up for the war years. What the country owes the veteran is something far different and far less often mentioned in the halls of Congress: a stable economy, a chance at a good job and, above all, a future without war in 20 or 30 years. I cannot see how a pyramiding federal debt can help attain these objectives; it seems clear to me, on the contrary, that the frightful, and frightening future charges being made against the federal government for "veterans' aid" will do the country, and therefore the veteran, a real disservice. If these premises are true, then the answer to the question, "Are we giving the veterans too much?" must be an overwhelming affirmative!

(Continued from page 233)

total about 12,000,000; with their families, they constitute approximately one-fourth of the entire population of the United States.

Federal laws relating to veterans, even before the end of the Eightieth Congress, filled an 800-page book, scarcely comprehensible to the average G.I.

Veterans' affairs are handled by the gigantic and ponderous Veterans Administration, within whose folds 62 separate organizations deal with veteran problems.

In a rather futile attempt to guide magazine writers through the maze at V.A., the O.W.I. once issued a chart on the organization of veterans' affairs. Thirty-eight separate boxes connected by a network of solid and broken lines revealed the structure of the veterans' organization. The 28-page accompanying pamphlet had to be checked and cleared by nine separate organizations including the Red Cross. In spite of the 200,000 bureaucrats employed by V.A., in spite of the elaborate charts and in spite of the 62 separate organizations (or because of them), the veteran finds himself able to get neither simple answers to his questions nor quick help for emergency needs. Those who believe that we are giving the veteran too much aid would do well to reflect that ponderous organization and enormous overhead do not necessarily mean *aid* for the veteran. My opponent to the contrary, any public administration specialist can testify that an "ambitious veterans' aid program" need not be inefficiently and wastefully administered. The statistics cited by my opponent on the cost of overhead in the Veterans Administration, far from proving his point, merely show that the veteran is getting a run-around.

According to General Bradley, the veteran faces six major problems after discharge: employment, hospitalization, education, housing, matrimony and personal readjustment to civilian life. With the two latter problems the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

government is not properly concerned. It is our solution to the first four problems that makes the charge "too much veterans' aid" ridiculous.

The importance of a job for every ex-soldier was visualized when the first plans for Selective Service Training were drawn. With this in mind, the Selective Service Act of 1940 (section 8) provided that a veteran is entitled to reinstatement in his former position with a private employer, or to a position of like seniority, status and pay: if the position was "other than temporary," if the veteran left the position subsequent to May 1, 1940, to enter active military or naval service; if he had satisfactorily completed his "period of training" (this later amended), if he was still able to perform the duties of such position; if he applied for reinstatement within 90 days of his discharge and if the employer's circumstances were not so changed as to make it impossible or unreasonable to reinstate the veteran. Furthermore, according to the law, a person so reinstated "shall not be discharged from such position without cause within one year after such restoration."

The complexity of legal and other difficulties arising out of this portion of the Selective Service Act stems partly from the obvious fact that it was written for one-year draftees, not for war-weary veterans. The vast majority of those drafted for one year's service in 1940 had "permanent jobs"; after completion of their training, they were entitled to return to them. Well and good. But the actual picture was different in 1945.

First of all, only those whose jobs were "other than temporary" were entitled to re-instatement: after one man had been drafted from his job, no other veteran who had replaced him and then had been drafted was entitled to re-instatement. It is hard to see how this situation could have been avoided; but it meant that a "job for every veteran" was by no means a certainty.

In the second place, the lowering of the draft age to 18 admitted a brand new group of future veterans—three or four million teen-aged boys who entered the Army from school and had, of course, no jobs to return to.

FIFTY-TWO-TWENTY CLUB

By 1944, it was apparent that the re-employment provisions of the Selective Service Act would by no means "solve" the problem for an estimated 14,000,000 to 18,000,000 servicemen. Title V of the Serviceman's Readjustment Act of 1944 (the G.I. Bill of Rights), therefore, provided "readjustment allowances" or unemployment compensation, for unemployed veterans and for self-employed veterans earning less than $100 per month net. The allowances, which no one could claim make for luxurious living, come to $20 per week for those completely unemployed and may last for a period up to 52 weeks—hence the title "Fifty-Two-Twenty Club.

The 52-20 Club has been subjected to far-reaching criticism since its inception. Believing that veterans would prefer to remain idle, many criticized the plan as too generous, ignoring two obvious facts: even the dullest veteran could figure out that the "hand-out" stopped after one year; few

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

veterans without outside income could live in the United States in 1945-1946 on $20 per week. At most, the allowances are merely stop-gaps.

Up to February, 1947, it was estimated that only 120,000 veterans had drawn the full amount possible under the G.I. Bill: in all, a little over a million claims had been filed, hundreds of thousands of them for periods of less than six weeks. In May, 1947, only 900,000 male veterans were reported out of work; a U.S.E.S. report of August, 1947, catalogued 12,044,000 employed World War II veterans. It is clear that the vast majority of veterans have steered clear of unemployment relief except for emergencies and have found employment as soon as possible.

To offer veterans $20 per week for a period of up to one year until they can find suitable employment does not seem to be "doing too much" for our ex-servicemen, many of whom spent far more than a year overseas in the service of their country. Hardship is still evident in spite of the law. In these days of high rents and high prices, time is of the essence to the average unemployed veteran. He, and his family, must continue to eat and pay rent while he finds employment. But only too often his readjustment allowance is delayed for more than a month after he files his first claim; endless forms in triplicate, countless interviews—all the red-tape of modern bureaucracy stands between him and the vital $20. Help for unemployed veterans there is—the essential quick help, however, is sadly lacking.

On-the-job-training allowances (under the G.I. Bill) are also designed to help the veteran find lucrative permanent employment. Veterans receiving such training are entitled to receive up to $65 per month if single and $90 per month if married to supplement their apprentice wages, thus helping them to reach the competitive position they would have enjoyed without service-interruption

Up to May, 1947, approximately 2,200,000 had received or were receiving some sort of vocational training; in February, 1947, it was reported that 714,806 veterans were drawing monthly checks.

This portion of the G.I. Bill, likewise was kindly conceived and badly administered. Because the law is vague and because the checking is left to the states, there have been shocking abuses. Not over half the states have checked the business firms purporting to give on-the-job-training. Unscrupulous businessmen have used the act to bolster their payrolls. Although the provisions were obviously aimed for apprentices, only 25 per cent of the trainees are in standard apprenticeships; chemists, chiropractors, clerks, cooks—and at least 39 other trades—are now listed. Random checking has uncovered a veteran "learning" to be a bank vice-president, another earning $700 per month plus a training allowance.

Aside from these abuses by business, the administration of the act leaves much to be desired. Many a veteran must wait for three months or more for government approval of the firm training him and then another three months before his first check arrives. All this does not help a veteran pay his food and rent bill. Further, many of the so-called approved places

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

for training have no one capable of giving an adequate training program.

These disclosures do not mean that the veteran receives too much but rather that he receives much too little—too little protection from unscrupulous business-men, too little protection against petty thieves who add to the veteran's taxes as well as to ours, too little supervision of actual training to see that a well-planned program is offered.

HOSPITALIZATION

More than 670,000 veterans were wounded in action in World War II. By February, 1947, it was estimated that 15,000 veterans were being cared for in hospitals and veterans' homes. On the basis of statistical averages the government estimates that it will need 300,000 beds for veterans by 1975. The President's Budget for 1947-1948 set aside $371,000,000 for hospital buildings; Congress appropriated funds for 88 new hospitals.

Provisions for hospital privileges for veterans are extremely generous, embracing not only honorably discharged veterans who have incurred injury or disease in line of duty, but also all honorably discharged veterans who may need hospitalization and who are unable to pay for it. In certain cases clothing is also provided.

There is no doubt that hospital conditions improved under General Bradley's administration. Further improvement, however, is mandatory. Congressmen are still back-scratching with the location of veterans' hospitals and all too often the buildings are located for the convenience not of the veteran but of political friends.

It has also been charged that medical service under the Veterans Administration is inferior to private medical service and that exorbitant fees are paid doctors by the Veterans Administration. Surely the best hospitals and the best available medical skill cannot be "too much" for our veterans!

EDUCATION

Critics agree that in the field of education the government has done well for the ex-serviceman and that on the whole the veteran has done well for the education provided. Under the G.I. Bill of Rights any veteran who meets eligibility requirements is entitled to education or training or a refresher or retraining course at an approved institution for a period of one year or the equivalent in part-time study. If the veteran was not over 25 years of age on entry into service or if he can show that his education or training was interrupted by the war, he is entitled to additional education based on length of service. By the end of January, 1947, more than a million and a half veterans were being educated at government expense, at an estimated cost of $2,125,000,000 this year and more next year, in addition to several hundred million spent annually for disabled veterans' schooling.

Although it has been charged that some schools have raised their fees and shortened their courses, in general the program has worked well. Administrative delays in living allowances for the veterans cause the bulk of

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

complaints, and colleges have had to confess that in general the veteran has been a better-than-average and hard-working student.

HOUSING

Unfortunately no such praise is merited by the veterans' housing program, a failure from start to finish and a political disgrace to boot. As the federal government juggled priorities, raised and lowered price ceilings, argued over political favorites—the veterans roamed the streets looking for shelter. Almost two years after the war ended, in the spring of 1947, more than 4,000,000 veterans were looking for permanent housing. Multiple factors contributed to their problem. The government had determined on a building program providing for houses to sell at around $10,000 apiece—small comfort to the average veteran who could not afford a $10,000 home and wanted to rent, not buy. Even at that, few such homes were available. Masterful bungling of the priorities and price ceilings on building materials added to the shortage and to the general inflation. The well-meant but badly administered G.I. loan fed fuel to the flame. The disgraceful lobby pressure which forced the virtual end of rent controls as well as all price ceilings further delayed the day when the veteran will find housing.

This all too brief survey reveals clearly that the veterans' aid program, far from being a free-for-all hand-out, is an effort to give the ex-servicemen a chance to start over in civilian life. Where employment is to be had, the veteran has found it; where education or training may help him later, he is taking advantage of it. Surely the more than 12,000,000 currently employed veterans are contributing their share to the nation's wealth. Surely the million and a half veterans now at school will be more productive and intelligent citizens later!

The cost of the G.I. program is enormous and still the problem of the returning veteran is not completely solved. But the cost of the war was infinitely higher, infinitely more wasteful. And who raised a voice then, to ask that we stop pouring billion after billion into weapons of destruction? If we are to have wars, and men to fight them, then we shall always have veterans to care for. If we are to have the highest standard of living and the highest prices in the world, then the cost of whatever program we initiate will of necessity be high. If we will not, or cannot, tax the citizens of the country enough to pay for its expenses, then the veterans' children, and everyone else's children, will have to bear the burden. Yet regardless of the future tax burden to the veteran when he is pulling his own weight in the economy, he must have help now during the period of adjustment. No real help can possibly be "too much"!

REFERENCES

BOOKS

American Council on Public Affairs, *Veterans Information Directory,* Public Affairs Press, 1946.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bolte, Charles Guy, *The New Veteran,* Reynal, 1945.

Bowker, Benjamin Cushing, *Out of Uniform,* Norton and Company, Inc., 1946.

Commerce Clearing House, Inc., *Veteran Law Manual,* 1945.

Gurwell, John K., *Veterans Information Centers,* Chicago Public Administration Service, 1945.

Hurd, Charles, *Veterans Program;* a Complete Guide to Its Benefits, Rights and Options, McGraw-Hill, 1946.

Laws Relation to Veterans, Compiled by Elmer A. Lewis, Superintendent of Documents Room, House of Representatives, Government Printing Office, 1944.

Willard, Walter Waller, *The Veteran Comes Back,* Dryden Press, 1944.

PERIODICALS

————, "20,000,000 Veterans Can Be Wronged," *Business Week,* April 5, 1947.

Armstrong, O. K., "Better Than a Bonus," *Reader's Digest,* June, 1947.

Bolte, C. G., "We're on Our Own," *Atlantic Monthly,* May, 1947.

Cormally, J. Mc., "A Veteran Speaks Up to Congress," *Reader's Digest,* April, 1947.

Martin, R. G., "Nothing's Too Good for the Boys," *New Republic,* March 3, 1947.

Roner, M., "Veterans and the Civil Service," *American Mercury,* December, 1946.

Ruark, R. C., "The Veteran Says: Aw, Nuts!" *Colliers,* May 10, 1947.

————, "Signs of Abuse in Veterans' Aid," *United States News,* February 28, 1947.

————, "Spending the Veterans' 7 Billions," *United States News,* February 7, 1947.

If you meet a python (in the vicinity of the bathroom, that is), Dr. Malcolm Smith of the British Museum offers the following advice: "Take a bath towel and wrap it several times around the left hand so as to protect it completely. Push this into the snake's face. The snake's body will get wound about yours, but this is of no consequence provided the snake is not more than 12 feet long."

* * *

The Male Animal:

Fifth-grader Atsushi Nishikawa protested Japan's new equality of the sexes in a letter-to-the-editor. "The girls at our school now take our baseball bats, gloves and balls and play ball while we boys have to play quietly inside the building. Our student committee tried to pass a rule that girls must not make too much fuss in the corridors but this was over-ruled by the girls. If this is co-education, I think it should be abolished."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

But Not In Love

Be moderate in all things but in love;
  In this be proud of folly's last excess.
Where thrift was never a thing for boasting of,
  Forget the lexicon of more and less.
What man would measure meanly the amount,
  Where the full heart is aching with its lode,
And turn his thought to ledgering the account,
  To copy-book unwisdom and its code?

The way of love is otherwise than this,
  Is all to spend in brave incontinence,
Is the blind death of time within a kiss,
  And time's immortal, sweet inprovidence,
Wherein love gains in giving, more and more,
Her self-replenished, unimpoverished store.

—*DAVID MORTON.*

Diary

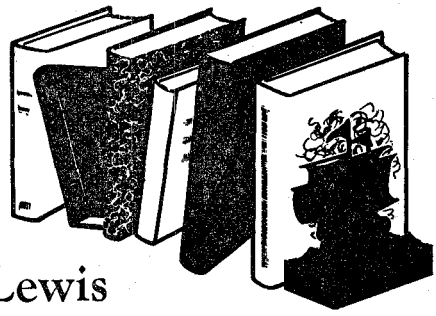
Before us, now, to be endured and known,
  The season of short days and the long night,
And grasses, gray, diminished, and the stone
  Bald, in the thin, uncompromising light.
Our earth, whose way was slow, and soft, and blurred,
  And intimate, and fragrant, for a token,
Will be much changed in all things seen and heard,
  Be strict and spare and brittle and brief-spoken.

Winter will break her bones; the invisible vise
  Contracting, will be heard along our sleep,
As the flesh freezes, as the blood turns ice . . .
  There is a kind of diary she will keep,
Of tell-tale scars—but, mostly, come the spring,
We'll read in grass, a blue thing . . . a white thing.

—*DAVID MORTON.*

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS In Brief



By Jasper R. Lewis

HALF A CENTURY IN AMERICA

FOR some years the Council on Foreign Relations published an annual survey of world events, the last one having covered 1940. During the war years the project was necessarily abandoned. Now it is resumed with *The United States in World Affairs, 1945-1947,* by John C. Campbell, (Harper's, $5.00). The period between 1940 and 1945 will be studied later. While this is the latter part of the 50 years mentioned above, it will be seen that this book points up the volume mentioned later in these notes.

Much of the material is so recent that it is not hard to follow the progress of events as the author details them; most of the facts are still outstanding in the reader's memory. What the book does, however, is present these facts in chronological order, weaving them into a continuous study. It is historical without the details of a history, with only brief references to the war itself. The position of the United States just prior to its entry into the war is shown, with its hopes of neutrality and its certain entanglement. From then on this country assumed leadership in world affairs.

The several agreements made by the big powers during hostilities are carefully discussed, together with the background and more or less hidden motives behind them. Here the personalities, whether American, British or Russian, appear in their relation to the purposes of the agreements, and it is extremely helpful in understanding the scope and the limitations of the documents. It is of added interest that the domestic political situation at home is shown in its relation to foreign commitments; the bi-partisan co-operation of Democrats and Republicans in foreign affairs reflects the unity of the American people in their purposes immediately after V-J Day.

There is an uneasy continued reference to the differences between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, and Dr. Campbell unhesitatingly sets forth these differences, giving the names of the participants and their objections to many of the proposals. It would be simple to quote specific instances, but it is sufficient to remark here that as the

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

author reviews each major move, he does it with the comments or statements of the figure involved. This adds interest and substantiates his summary.

Dr. Campbell is frank, too, in his interpretation of changing opinions and policies; first, the almost complete accord with Soviet aims, a carry-over from war conditions, and later a gradual swing into firmness on the part of our government to prevent total obliteration of Germany and complete subjugation of Europe by Russia.

Not all of the book is devoted to Europe. Post-war frictions in South America are explained, and there is evidence of some coolness arising on the part of the Latin-American republics toward us. The occupation task in Japan, less complicated, is carefully recorded.

The latter chapters deal with present questions, as nearly up to the minute as is possible: the United Nations, preparations for peace treaties; the trouble in Greece, and our problem of maintaining adequate war machinery. It is one method of gaining a well defined and clear idea of current world affairs, factual, but well told. A comprehensive bibliography and a Chronology of Events add to the value.

* * *

Another excellent volume devoted to our recent history is *America in Our Time,* 1896-1946, by Dwight L. Dumond, (Holt, trade edition, $4.75). In 1936 Professor Dumond authored *Roosevelt to Roosevelt,* dealing with the period between those administrations. The new volume is a revision of that work, plus a number of chapters to cover the New Deal, the Second World War and the first years of peace.

The earlier portion of the book is less historical, summarizing the social, economic and political changes in the United States during the first decades of this century. A general picture of the country, showing the irritants of sectionalism, in politics and industry, gives the background for the conditions which culminated in the Hoover term and the F. D. Roosevelt era. Professor Dumond seems to stick close to facts, confining statements of opinion to those of the characters involved, instead of his own, although some of his comments are expressed in terms of sympathy with the men whose views Dumond evidently endorses. There is no fault to find in this, as the author's views appear liberal and progressive, and in opposition to the distinctly selfish views of the political and reactionary leaders of those years.

Dumond's characterizations of the politics and politicians of the early 1920's are both interesting and startling. His portrait of Hoover is boldly critical, and his review of conditions then seems timely enough to be applied to the present. In fact, there is ammunition here for the campaign writers of 1948. With all this, there is also a well balanced account of domestic and foreign relations, with greater emphasis on internal problems. It is useful to read summarizations of the several panaceas of the times. Huey Long's "every man a king"; the Townsend plan, the claims of technocrats, all

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

furnish amusement now. In their day, however, they were threats against the democratic system.

The last three terms of Roosevelt, embracing labor problems, the war and the first post-war years, cover events so current that any reader is apt to judge the book by its agreement with his own prejudices and opinions. The war itself is summarized briefly, but again the politics of the several parties and their leaders are examined. Here the bitterest enemies of F.D.R. will take offense at the eulogistic references to Roosevelt the man and the president. Dumond writes: "When he died the most cohesive force among the peoples of the war was lost." There is no evaluation of President Truman, which is perhaps fair in that the period of his incumbency had been brief up to the completion of the book. In fact, this is the one disappointment; the past two years have been so crowded with events that one looks for further information on them. There are references only to the beginnings of the United Nations, and the difficulties presented by Russian ambitions and Russian satellites. This is not a fault of the book, but is undoubtedly due to publication requirements.

The volume offers a fairly rapid review of the period which showed the greatest changes in our system, and the influences which must be recognized to understand our present position.

BRIEFER COMMENT

OF GENERAL INTEREST

Edward J. Flynn, Bronx Democratic leader for 25 years and a political power nationally as well, tells his own story in *You're the Boss,* (Viking, $3.00). It is as well the story of Al Smith, Franklin D. Roosevelt, James Farley and a number of lesser lights. To say that it is interesting is putting it mildly; Flynn's views are honestly political, which means sincere from his own angle. That justifies brickbats for La Guardia and other opponents, and orchids for those on his side of the fence. The title refers to the fact that the people theoretically are in command, but Flynn pointedly admits that most voters pay no attention to politics and the machines run everything. Having thus laid the onus on the voters, the author can safely tell how political organizations operate. There is no gainsaying his qualifications as a boss, without accepting his estimates of people or politicians. Unfortunately, against his insistence on the need of parties, one recalls: "Then none was for a Party, but all were for the State."

All is not well in our relationship with the new Philippine democracy, despite frequent avowals of love on both sides. According to David Bernstein, who spent some time as political adviser to President Quezon and later President Osmena, there is more than a little irritation with our handling of the Philippine problem. *The Philippine Story,* (Farrar, Straus, $3.75), sets forth an outline of the history of the is-

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

lands, then discusses the political and military situations during the recent war. Last of all and most emphatically, it describes our failure to understand the people and to extend the kind of help they need. It is frank criticism and probably a needed stimulant for appreciation of the importance of the question, especially if one looks westward across the Pacific.

How a labor union looks at the employer's side is boldly told in *The Many and the Few,* A Chronicle of the Dynamic Auto Workers, by Henry Kraus, (Plantin Press, $2.50). It is the story of the sit-down strike in General Motors in 1937, and Kraus is frankly the union organizer. Here he gives the details of the strike, its inception, the ways and means of effectuating it, with some of the violent episodes thrown in. While it is one-sided, it is nevertheless educational in being the inside story, as the union sees it. Even a capitalist can learn a lot from it.

The details of the Battle of the Bulge are told in *Dark December,* by Robert E. Merriam, (Ziff-Davis, $3.00). Merriam was attached to the historical section of the War Department, and it was his job to dig out and correlate the facts. Here the German plan is fashioned out of the army reports and interviews with Nazi commanders. Aided by maps, it presents a graphic description of a tragic action.

If a book about the war can be delightful, *Slightly Out of Focus,* by Robert Capa, (Holt, $3.50), can be called that. Capa, top-notch cameraman in North Africa and later in the invasion on D-Day, tells his personal story with flashes of the progress of the war and some riotous combats of his own. Love finds its way, too, but principally his humorous explanations of his experiences offer amusement and a picture of soldiers' life. Because of that the photographs are almost forgotten, but there they are, and not out of focus.

And Blow Not the Trumpet, A Prelude to Peril, by Stanley D. Porteus, (Pacific Books, $3.50), is the story of Hawaii before the war and during it. The author's opinion is that the civilian population was prepared for Pearl Harbor, while the armed forces were not. He devotes much space to the island and the people, and some to a discussion of responsibility for the defeat we suffered.

Operation Moscow, by Christopher Norberg, (Dutton, $3.50), is plain talk about the threat the U.S.S.R. holds for the democracies of the world. The author served as Chief of the Northern European Regional Section of U.N.R.R.A., and was born and educated in Norway. Both factors seem to give him a distrust of Russia and its treaties, even to the extent of openly discussing the methods of preventing Russian aggression against us—in terms of atomic bombs. It is reassuring to have Norberg, an ordained minister, stress the spiritual and moral strength of Christianity against communistic ideas, but only after he has carefully "passed the ammunition."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FICTION

There's good satire on Hollywood and its inhabitants, and much wisecracking, in *Dirty Eddie,* by Ludwig Bemelmans, (Viking, $2.75). Some parts appeared previously in a magazine, and the evident separate and serial nature of the chapters are something of a drawback. The title role is held, not by a producer, but by a pig. Naturally it is as debunking as you expect, funny in spots and eminently satisfactory to those who think the movies a much over-rated institution.

The Moneyman, by Thomas B. Costain, (Doubleday, $3.00), is a historical novel based on the life of the financier who managed the purse strings for Charles VII of France. There is atmosphere, a good story with plenty of action, and sufficient love element for the cash customers. Somehow, however, it seems to miss the spark that kindles top drawer historical romances; nathless, in the jargon of yesteryear, it will make best seller lists.

A little of the war, as it appeared to four young ambulance drivers in the Middle East, is the stream of action of *The End of My Life,* by Vance Bourjaily, (Scribner's, $2.75). More particularly it is the story of what a war era does to young men and women. It is brutally frank in spots, and maybe truthfully reflective of its milieu, but definitely of the "realistic" school of fiction, for those who like their meat raw.

Lonely Crusade, by Chester Himes, (Knopf, $3.00), is a bitter novel about Negroes, Communists and labor strife. Mixed in with the usual problems of race confronted by the Negro, there is an added complication in the central figure's relationship with a white woman, without any visible need for this in the plot. What might have made a sound novel on the race question, particularly coupled with organized labor, is weakened by unnecessary emphasis on sex relations between the races. For this the world is not ready, and it is bound to stir up animosity rather than sympathetic understanding.

Eighteenth century life in London and in Boston combine to make *Pamela Foxe,* by Dorothea Malm, (Prentice-Hall, $2.75), an entertaining if not an unusual novel. Written in the form of a journal in the English of the day, it is bright, faithful to its era, and the naughtiness of the times seems just as effective if not as lurid as our own literary products.

Toward What Bright Land, by Walter Gilkyson, (Scribner's, $3.00), is ominously long, 520 pages, but it repays the reader in its intimate story about Philadelphians in President Grant's era. Here are Quakers, the Irish and the Hungarians, the financially and socially elect and the lowly. It is the story of the grandson of a wealthy Quaker from boyhood to maturity. Sometimes it is long-winded, and yet it is both descriptive and moving, with a kaleidoscope of bustles, old-fashioned characters and yesterday's morals. It will be interesting to see how Philadelphians take it.

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Theatre Arts

By John Gassner

AS THE month of August left Broadway barren of new productions and the summer theatre in the countryside consists of either revivals of past Broadway successes or new plays which it would be unfair to criticize in their embryonic state, the drama critic must roam somewhat afield. This is the time for catching up with the books on the theatre, or with films that have had some bearing on the stage.

Concerning the books much may be said, even if the past 12 months have not been rich in new theatre literature. Attention may be called to only a few volumes. Lee Simonson's superb book *The Stage Is Set,* (Dover Publications), at last reprinted, must be recommended to anyone who cares to understand anything about the styles of production, without which even plays are merely stenographic pieces of literature. After all, the drama comes alive only on the actual stage of a given time or in the rare imagination of readers who can stage the play in their minds. Simonson, who was one of America's pioneers in stagecraft and a founder of the Theatre Guild, maintains a thesis in addition to imparting much valuable and absorbing information. It is his contention that a stage stripped of scenic effect and devoid of efforts to create the illusion of reality for the playgoer is an esthetic dream rather than an actuality. Every age, prior to the rule of late nineteenth century realism in the West, tended toward realism, or the creation of illusion in those matters that were of special interest to the audience, whenever the means for achieving illusions were available. Everything else was conventionalized, but the convention was a product of the times and the circumstances of stage production; whereas the aim of every theatre was to achieve greater and greater illusion. The allegedly austere Greeks adopted a variety of scenic devices and even resorted to painted scenic backgrounds or wing-pieces, in spite of the formalism of their ceremonial theatre. The medieval stage may have used scenery sparingly or conventionally, but it strove to create a maximum experience of illusion in exhibiting such matters of public

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

interest as hell-fire, carpentry (in the building of Noah's ark, for example), and the details of the crucifixion. Realism in this last instance went so far indeed that actors impersonating Christ crucified were in danger of their lives. The Elizabethans, whose public theatre stage was largely barren of scenery, spent fortunes on costuming the actors, made ample use of trap doors, and were scrupulous in affording convincing scenes of death and bloodshed. Illusionism became full-blown during the Italian renaissance, and thereafter the evolutionary process tended toward documenting and completing illusion by pushing the play behind the proscenium arch and surrounding it with solid scenery. Later, post-Ibsen reactions to realism represent efforts to recapture poetry and imagination for the theatre, but those efforts that attract the general playgoing public as against special clicques of esthetes continue to pursue the effects of illusion. Very possibly Simonson goes too far in his championship of illusionism, and a lively argument could be brewed between him and those who would violate illusion in the name of propaganda or for the sake of theatrical piquancy. Nevertheless *The Stage Is Set* is to be cherished for its common sense approach and its iconoclasm with respect to some of the pet principles of the advance guard that so often advances into a vacuum. In any case, with due allowance for overstatement, Simonson's approach plays hob with the academic and puristic belief that the great dramatic art of the past was austerely anti-realistic.

Another reprint of the highest importance is *Chief European Theories of the Drama,* edited by Barrett H. Clark (Crown Publishers), now brought up to date with a section on American theory. The unaltered European part comprises the bulk of the book, and consists of the classic statements of Aristotle, Horace, the Renaissance critics, Corneille, Molière, Dryden, Samuel Johnson, Lessing, Zola and Shaw. The American supplement contains recent chapters by George Jean Nathan, Eugene O'Neill, Maxwell Anderson, John Mason Brown and John Gassner. A comparison of the themes of the old and the new in the theory of drama cannot fail to strike the reader and inform both the student and the attentive playgoer. Aristotle's ideas on tragedy remain fundamental and universal, and it is hardly surprising that three of the most recent American essays revert to the same subject. But, between Aristotle and the latter-day Americans, the span of nearly 22 centuries is largely a record of rules imposed and rules defied; of renaissance and seventeenth century French scholars demanding scrupulous adherence to the unities of time, place, and action; of eighteenth century and romantic critics championing the freer kind of drama practiced by Shakespeare and his contemporaries. Also in the eighteenth century the battle begins for greater latitude of content, which is essentially a demand for the democratization of the drama. The common man, hitherto largely excluded from tragedy except as a comic figure, is gradually recognized as a

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

fit subject for tragic treatment. Man as an economic animal is also admitted into the inner sanctum, and the influence of environment is recognized; in other words, a man carries his occupation with him when he becomes a dramatic character and he is what he is because of the interaction of his individuality and the conditioning of society. In the Ibsen era and thereafter, indeed, conflict is often between man and society, as in *An Enemy of the People* and *The Weavers,* rather than between man and fate, *Oedipus the King,* or between one unique man and his antagonist, *Othello.*

Implicit in this revolution in dramatic philosophy is a social and economic revolution which disintegrated the feudal caste system, brought the bourgeoisie and the working-class to the forefront, and evolved political and social democracy. Realism and naturalism (the extreme form of realism) come to the foreground as the dominant dramatic philosophy. This goes so far, in Emile Zola, as to encourage dramatists to become scientific recorders of physiological and sociological fact, to maintain the objectivity of anatomists. To this the natural reaction is, of course, a return to imaginativeness and poetry in the drama as expounded by Maurice Maeterlinck and other symbolists. Here the European record of dramatic thinking ends in Mr. Clark's collection, and it is to be regretted that the new edition fails to take sufficient note of the anti-realistic views of the twentieth century as expressed by Gordon Craig, Adolphe Appia, Evreinov, Reinhardt and Meyerhold. The restoration of poetry to the theatre is unquestionably of vital concern to the living theatre.

The battle for realism has been completely won since Ibsen. When Arthur Miller contributes the admirable social drama *All My Sons* and Lillian Hellman, the social satire of *Another Part of the Forest,* they enrich the estate of the theatre. But the vast majority of playwrights who practice realism are simply commonplace. Their plays subvert passion and illumination to a mere account of the humdrum, and playgoers exhibit good sense in refusing to buy a commodity they can pick up in everyday intercourse and experience. The man who rejects these drab goods in favor of the gaudy trappings of even second-rate musical comedies is no fool. He buys what he cannot get free of charge in the life around him—namely, color, entertainment, dreams (no matter how tawdry), and relief from the commonplace.

The problem of the contemporary theatre boils down to the question of how it can satisfy our need for poetry without giving us its pinchbeck variant in meretricious musicals and without perverting or flagrantly belying reality; that is the secret of such rare plays as *The Glass Menagerie, My Heart's in the Highland's* and *The Time of Your Life.* And this, in turn, involves the ultimate but elusive question of stylization. We want a reality that is heightened and deepened, that has significant form or, in lieu of this, any kind of form; whereas most playwrights offer us an amorphous reality in the name of truth. But,

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

again, amorphousness is an everyday experience which we do not have to buy; we have it anyway—too much of it, in fact. We can feel like a jelly-fish without going to the theatre. What we would gladly acquire at considerable cost and effort is something else—a sense of order in life and of human significance, a place in society and the universe, an apprehension of style in ourselves and in our humanity. If most playgoers do not express this quest in the same words, and others do not word it at all, it underlies their response to the stage, nonetheless. It is not perhaps without significance that the last three articles in the book address themselves to the question of tragedy, and make substantially the same demand upon the contemporary theatre — namely, a meaningful and elevating experience. Although Mr. Clark has drawn no conclusions from the theoretical writings he has so assiduously collected, his *European Theories of the Drama* provides the materials and incentives for a thorough reconsideration of the art of the theatre.

Virtually the same considerations agitate Maxwell Anderson in the recently published little volume *Off Broadway* (William Sloan Associates). Its essays may be considered an *apologia* for himself. Mr. Anderson is justifying his own kind of theatre, chiefly his efforts to bring poetry back to the stage and to write high tragedy in an age of rags and bottles. In *Elizabeth the Queen* and *Mary of Scotland* he brought back the romantic theatre of Schiller and Hugo in a temperate and highly successful style. In *Winterset* and *High Tor* he clothed modern themes in verse, and wrote modern poetic drama with considerable effect even if it lacked memorable poetry. Regardless of reservations, it must be conceded that Anderson did elevate the American stage during the depressed 1930's before prolixity caught him in its trap, and last season's prose drama *Joan of Lorraine* showed him returning to his exaltations with notable taste and discipline. One objection to be raised against his lucubrations in *Off Broadway* concerns his moralistic view of the theatre. But no one can question the soundness of Mr. Anderson's prescription for the theatre. He makes modest disclaimers when he calls for a transformation of "our native amusements" into "a national art of power and beauty" and says that "it needs the touch of a great poet." He does not claim that he is that poet, and admits that his effort to cast a contemporary subject into the mould of poetry was "more of an experiment than I could wish."

It was interesting also to hear from radio's poet Norman Corwin this season via his new collection of plays *Untitled* (Henry Holt & Company). Although many of the broadcasts, such as the war-time series entitled "An American in England," are not first-rate Corwin, being essentially reportorial, the volume contains several notable pieces, such as *On a Note of Triumph,* composed for V-E Day, and the V-J Day script *14th August*. It is most important perhaps to note that Corwin substantiates Maxwell

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Anderson and the critics of our prosy theatre conclusively in his own practice. When he doesn't keep his radio plays well above the ground, he trails the dust. His reportorial prose pieces are intelligent, cleverly compounded and nobly intended, but the impact was of the moment and has largely vanished; whereas the poetic pieces almost succeed in making broadcast drama an art. In view of this, it is probably foolish to complain that Corwin often mistakes rhetoric for poetry. Rhetoric is his forte, but good rhetoric is too rare to be dismissed lightly, and Corwin is a rhapsode. In passionately haranguing us, he lifts us above the dreary ineptitudes of run-of-the-mill theatre in any form. Perhaps it is in order to remind ourselves that all the great theatres before the nineteenth century were theatres of rhetoric in the first instance. The rhetoric is a sign of an impassioned view of reality and its problems. It is the prime condition for an exalting experience, and it is often the prerequisite for the transubstantiation of reality accomplished by genuine poetry.

It was Archibald MacLeish who first noticed that radio was an ideal medium for the poet, offering him an opportunity to get his poetry heard rather than read. MacLeish, in the middle thirties, even hoped that radio would cure the modern poet of his inbred esotericism and would make him more communicable. Whether it has accomplished much in this direction is extremely doubtful, and it is questionable whether his own memorable contributions to the air-waves, *The Fall of the City* and *Air Raid,* have been bettered, if indeed equalled, by the work of his successors. Nor have many poets been drawn to the broadcasting studios or endured there for any period. Mr. Corwin alone has managed to keep his foot inside the radio stations for any length of time, and that is reason enough to support Corwin. Perhaps if he keeps the door open long enough, others will be able to slip in. Certainly radio needs the poet as much as the poet needs radio.

The rhetorician's contribution, for all its shortcomings, could also be of moment to the theatre. For well-nigh 50 years, if not longer, impassioned oratory has been regarded with suspicion by dramatists, producers and critics. The "tirade" or long speech of invective or self-expression was once a high point in the drama. The glories of Marlowe, Shakespeare and Racine are closely associated with it. The realistic style was supposed to have outmoded eloquence. Yet the theatre has lost much in depriving itself of uninhibited articulateness and a direct appeal to the audience. And, if the truth were told, most of the powerful twentieth century playwrights have sneaked the tirade into the body of their plays. This has been true of Gorky, O'Neill and O'Casey, and the greatest rhetorician of them all has been G. B. Shaw. Eloquence has been as much his forte as the quick sharp thrust of wit which makes most of his work comedy. It is unfortunate that the revival of *Man and Superman* scheduled this fall will omit

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the fourth act dream-fantasy in which Don Juan explains his philanderings as a form of rebellion against sex and expatiates on the real nature of hell. The Shaw who wrote that act, as well, as, for instance, the great speeches in *Saint Joan* and *Too True to Be Good* is descended from a noble line of dramatists who recognized the stage as an ideal platform for oratory.

There is, of course, more to the theatre than rhetoric; lyricism, muted poetry, suggestiveness, and nuance place us under an even higher obligation to a dramatist, and the place of repartee, wit, and humor should not be overlooked. But all these qualities stem from a common source—a unique and, in the last analysis, incandescent creativeness to which the killing literalness of most contemporary playwrights is antipodal. We may take some comfort from the fact that this is being increasingly recognized when the theatre is discussed as an art rather than a business. And it should, indeed, come up as an important point whenever the business side of the theatre is considered. Ninety per cent of Broadway's failures in any season are plays that seemed commercial to a good many people who are not exactly insane. They were deemed commercial because they were not likely to put too much of a strain on the playgoer, because they were calculated to relax him; whereas it is time to recognize the fact that the playgoer is not particularly grateful for being made as at home in the theatre as he is in his sitting room. The sitting room will always be a shade more comfortable and far less expensive. To take the playgoer out of himself, to awaken his sensibilities and faculties, and to confront him with a life exceptionally heightened or ordered,—this is the better, and in the long run also the more profitable, way for the theatre to follow.

Former President Herbert Hoover declared in a recent broadcast that presidents take up fishing after they enter the White House because there were just two occasions when Americans respected privacy—praying and fishing. He recalled that Calvin Coolidge's back cast was so dangerous that even the Secret Service men kept at a distance until they were called to climb trees and retrieve flies.

* * *

Tom Driberg, Laborite M.P., asked that the Ministry of Food educate British housewives, hotel keepers and others in the preparation of "tolerable coffee."

Dr. Edith Summerskill, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Food, announced that her department had given the necessary instructions in a new pamphlet, "The ABC of Cookery." Recipe: "Warm the jug. Add coffee and salt. Pour in boiling water and stand the jug in a warm place for about 15 minutes. It is a good plan to stand the jug in a saucepan of boiling water. Stir the coffee and let it settle again. Strain if necessary, but do not boil. For straining, use a very fine coffee strainer or a piece of fine muslin."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FORUM FEATURES

"Born and brought up on a farm in Oklahoma," writes **Virgil Tipton,** "I am well aware of what farmers face in their struggle for a higher standard of living. Statistics always have shown that they are at the bottom of the income scale in comparison to most economic groups. Now, co-operatives, both consumer and marketing, are seeking to help the farmer in his fight for a better life. Not only are they giving services at cost, but are organizing and lobbying for his cause nationwide." Virgil Tipton, a senior at the School of Journalism at the University of Missouri, served three years in the Air Force, is a member of the Central League of Campus Co-ops.

Regina Kelly is a teacher of United States history at the Austin High School in Chicago. She was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, and received her degree at the University of Chicago. In addition to writing three text books in history, Mrs. Kelly is co-author of a forthcoming text in United States History published by The Macmillan Company.

Arthur Smart writes: "I served for a number of years as a correspondent for the Manchester (New Hampshire) Union-Leader, and later I edited a couple of weekly papers of my own in New Hampshire. For most of the last three years I have been associate editor of an insurance trade paper covering the western portion of the United States."

In 1934, on the day after his graduation from Brown University, Arthur Smart became a candidate for the New Hampshire House of Representatives.

From 1938-1942 Arthur Smart served as delegate to a convention to revise the New Hampshire Constitution. In 1940 he became the first member of the Democratic party to be elected to the New Hampshire Senate from his district since the Civil War. On his thirtieth birthday he was denied the right to serve by the Senate on the ground that he had not reached the age limit of 30 at the time of the election. The seat was awarded to the man he had defeated. Mr. Smart, who has also been active in the Democratic State Committee in New Hampshire and the National Youth Administration, writes: "Although from the title of my article one might suppose me to be a revolutionist, I find that most of my left-wing friends regard me as a conservative. I call myself a Jeffersonian, and I can never decide whether that makes me a radical or a reactionary."

PRODUCED BY UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED